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THE RELATION OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENTS TO EDUCATION

Submitted by

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS - contd

FOREWORD

A study of history is valuable in so far as an appreciation of the past is necessary for an understanding of the present. The same justification lies behind any study of the history of education. It applies especially in the development of this thesis:--to be in a position to appreciate and evaluate the real meaning of the present relationship of the national government and education in the United States, England, France, and Germany; it is essential to know something about the history and tradition, the social forces and attitudes, and the political and economic situations that conditioned the development of the educational systems in these nations. In this respect it is of special importance to understand the relationship between the individual and the state that has developed through the centuries.

Such a viewpoint has been taken by leading writers on comparative education. Kandel, in his book on the subject, states, "the status, implications, and effectiveness of a national Kultur enters the picture". Sandiford echoes the same thought. In the introduction to COMPARATIVE EDUCATION one reads:--"Educational systems differ from each other by reason of a number of factors--history, geography, ethnology, economics, and political philosophy". Roman follows the same line of thought; for in the first chapter of THE NEW EDUCATION IN EUROPE he states, "The activity of any people in the political, religious, industrial, and educational spheres and the like, can best be explained and understood when scrutinized from two distinct angles, the immediate present and the long past." Reisner strikes another note in the preface to NATIONALISM

AND EDUCATION. He writes, "Education is public policy related inseparably to economic conditions, social organization, and political administration. Matters are of current concern in education since the major conditioning factors of the recent past are with us today in a more insistent form than ever". Alexander in the introduction to NEW EDUCATION IN THE GERMAN REPUBLIC sums up the situation as follows: "To appreciate the extent of the last decade's changes one must look below the surface and get a picture of conditions half a century ago; nay, we must go further back into the history of the country to gain an understanding of the forces which have produced the present changes."

The need of a general perspective is apparent. However, it will be impossible in the scope of this thesis to give anything but a mere outline of the past relationship. Enough will be presented to enable one to grasp the significance of the present relationship which the State bears to education.

Although this thesis will attempt to present the conditions in the United States, England, France, and Germany, it is in order that the situation in the United States may be appreciated, that I shall give it the most attention.

INTRODUCTION

Aristotle states in his POLITICS, "Of all the things I have mentioned, that which contributes the most to the permanence of institutions is the adaptation of education to the form of government." Throughout history the successful agencies of power have realized the wisdom of this dictum, and have attempted to control the education of the child to this end. Thus during the medieval period, education was controlled by the church then in power. Decrees were issued from time to time requiring the parish priest to provide some sort of elementary education for the people so that the glory and power of the Church might be fully realized. Secondary education was in control of the bishops of each diocese for the training of leaders to uphold the church banner. Even the Reformation did not eliminate control of education by ecclesiastical authorities, but rather developed a system of partnership between them and the State. Such a condition continued in the field of elementary education--the stronghold of the masses--in most countries down to the 19th century, the State gradually assuming a larger sphere of control with the emergence of the political concepts of nationalism.

Modern times begins with the middle of the 18th century. This period was a turning point for history, as it marked the end of medievalism; it saw the successful revolt against ecclesiastical control over human affairs, and the resulting development of science, discovery, and invention; it witnessed the growth of secular interests and the rise of national consciousness. As Cubberley aptly puts it, "In the 18th century the culmination of this rising tide of protest -- the Universities,

Renaissance, Reformation, Puritanism and Pietism all being protests against the medieval tendency to confine and limit the intellect--came in a general determined revolt against despotism in either Church or State which at the close of the century swept away ancient privileges, abuses, and barriers and prepared the way for the intellectual, human and political progress which characterized the 19th century". (1) The new spirit and interests and attitudes which came to characterize the eighteenth century in the more progressive western nations meant the ultimate overthrow of the tyranny of medieval supernatural theology, the evolution of a new theory as to moral action which should be independent of theology, the freeing of the new scientific spirit from the fetters of church control, the substituting of new philosophical and economic interests for the old theological problems which had for so long dominated human thinking, the substitution of natural political organization for the older ecclesiastical foundations of the State, the destruction of what remained of the old feudal political system, the freeing of the serf and the evolution of the citizen, and the rise of a modern society interested in problems of national welfare--government in the interest of the governed, commerce, industry, science, economics, education, and social welfare. The evolution of such modern-type governments inevitably meant the creation of entirely new demands for the education of the people and for far-reaching political and social reforms.

This new eighteenth-century spirit, which so characterized the mid-eighteenth century that it is often spoken of as the "Period of the Enlightenment", expressed itself in many new directions. "In a very real

(1) E. P. Cubberley, HISTORY OF EDUCATION, page 471.

sense the development of state educational systems, in both European and American States, has been an outgrowth of the great liberalizing forces which first made themselves felt in a really determined way during this important transition period." (1)

The new spirit of nationality and humanitarianism began to stir thinking men, awakening a new interest on the part of many rulers in the welfare of the people governed. Several "benevolent despots" of continental Europe made attempts to improve the lot of their subjects as a means of advancing national welfare. Frederick William I (1713-40) earnestly labored to develop the resources of his kingdom, giving his earliest attention to the education of his subjects. Thanks to the Protestant Revolt, the State had already obtained control over the Church. The leaders of the Reformation had sought the aid of Protestant princes in their struggles, and many of the States had created a sort of state-church school system. Hence Frederick William I was in a position to establish the beginnings of the first modern State school system and make of it an instrument to promote the interest of the State. From the first he gave Prussia a centralized and uniform financial administration which paved the way for a centralized school system. In 1717 he issued the famous "Advisory Order" making schooling compulsory. In various decrees he attempted to supply new schools and furnish them with good teachers. He gave a sum of 50,000 thalers and set aside large tracts of land for the establishment of elementary schools. In 1737 he issued the Regulations (Principia Regulative) which became the basic school law for the Prussian System. His son, Frederick the Great, completed the

(1) E. P. Cubberley, HISTORY OF EDUCATION, page 472.

transference of the schools to State control, issuing regulations in 1740, 1741, and again in 1743, concerning the support of schools in Prussia, in which he directed that new schools should be established, teachers provided for them and that "the existing school regulations and arrangements made in pursuance thereto should be permanent and that no change should be made under any pretext whatever". (1)

In 1750 he effected a centralization of all the provincial church consistories, except that of Catholic Silesia, under the Berlin Consistory. This was a centralizing measure of large future importance, as it centralized the administration of the schools, as well as that of the churches, and transformed the Berlin Consistory into an important administrative agent of the central government. To this new centralized administrative organization the King issued instructions to pay special attention to schools, in order that they might be furnished with able schoolmasters and the young be educated. One of the results of this centralization was the gradual evolution of the modern German Gymnasien, with uniform standards and improved instruction, out of the old and weakened Latin schools of various types within the kingdom. The General Land-Schule Reglement of 1763 and 1765 marked the foundation of the Prussian elementary school system and set up guides for future work. By these regulations the common schools were left under the church, but the church was directed by the State. Everything became prescribed and standardized to the letter. This far-reaching reorganization was not completely carried out until the end of the next century. The Prussian example was followed by the other states. In 1788, as an outgrowth of the central-

(1) E. P. Cubberley, HISTORY OF EDUCATION, page 588.

ization of elementary education, the Superior School Board (Oberschulcollegium) was established to exercise similar centralized control over the secondary and higher schools. In 1794, the General Civil Code (The Allegemeine Landrecht) marked the culmination of state control of schools and universities. It declared that "schools and universities are state institutions, charged with the instruction of youth in useful information and scientific knowledge. Such institutions may be founded only with the knowledge and consent of the State. All public schools and educational institutions are under the supervision of the State, and are at all times subject to its examination and inspection." (1) The secular authority and the clergy were still to share jointly in the control of the schools, but both according to rules laid down by the State. In all cases of conflict or dispute, the secular authority was to decide. "Under Frederick William III, (1797-1840), the State lacked vigor and drifted; the Church regained something of its former power; and the army and the civil service became corrupt." (2)

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(1) E. P. Cubberley, HISTORY OF EDUCATION, page 565.
(2) Ibid. page 565.

Eighteenth century France developed no such far-visioned kings to temper church rule, abolish privileges and abuses, enact reforms to alleviate the lot of peasant and serf, and develop natural resources through the establishment of schools. The absolute monarchies of Louis XIV and Louis XV furthered the discontented feelings of the aggressive bourgeoise. Demand for reform also came from philosophers of the age, Montesquieu, Turgot, Voltaire, Diderot, Rousseau, and others. The Revolution resulted, sweeping away not only the ancient abuses but also their educational foundation. The State definitely took over the control of education from the Church, as the theorists enunciated the principle that the child belongs to the State. Rousseau's EMILE attacked the religious and social theory of education then prevailing, and laid bare the abuses of formal ecclesiastical education. La Chalatois set forth the philosophical foundations of education for all, and declared the function of government was to prepare the citizens by education for the sphere of life. In 1768 Rolland devised a national system of education with centralized control, and in 1755 Turgot proposed the formation of a national council of public instruction and the establishment of a system of civil and national education throughout France.

Legislative proposals embodying these ideas were discussed in the various national assemblies of the turbulent period. Tallyrand in 1791 proposed the organization of a complete state system of public instruction for France, to consist of "a primary school in every canton (community district), open to the children of peasants and workmen--classes heretofore unprovided with education; a secondary school in every depart-

ment (county); a series of special schools in the chief French cities; to prepare for the professions; and a National Institute or University located at Paris". (1) As the Constituent Assembly was succeeded by the newly elected Legislative Assembly within three weeks after Tallyrand submitted his Report, no action was taken on his bill. Condorcet's "Report" was submitted to the Legislative Assembly in 1792, but was not enacted as it was too far advanced for his day although it was a thoroughly sound democratic theory of education, and an accurate prediction of what the nineteenth century brought generally into existence. In the National Convention September 21, 1792 to October 26, 1795 there was also a radical body deeply interested in the creation of a system of state schools for the people of France. To higher education there was for a time marked opposition, though later in its history the Convention erected a number of important technical institutions and schools, among the most important was the Institute of France. There was also in the Convention marked opposition to all forms of clerical control of schools. The schools of the Brothers of the Christian Schools were suppressed by it, in 1792, and all secular and endowed schools and colleges were abolished and their property confiscated, in 1793. The complete supremacy of the State in all educational matters was now asserted. Great enthusiasm was manifested for the organization of state primary schools, which were ordered established in 1793, and in these: "children of all classes were to receive that first education, physical, moral, and intellectual, the best adapted to develop in them republican manners, patriotism, and the love of labor, and to render

(1) E. P. Cubberley, HISTORY OF EDUCATION, page 513.

them worthy of liberty and equality.

The course of instruction was to include: 'to speak, read, and write correctly the French language; the geography of France; the rights and duties of men and citizens; the first notions of natural and familiar objects; the use of numbers, the compass, the level, the system of weights and measures, the mechanical powers, and the measurement of time. They are to be taken into the fields and the workshops where they may see agricultural and mechanical operations going on, and take part in the same so far as their age will allow.' " (1)

A multiplicity of reports, bills, and decrees, often more or less contradictory but still embodying ideas advanced by Condorcet and Tallyrand, now appeared. Whereas the preceding legislative bodies had considered the subject carefully, but without taking action, the convention now acted. The nation, though, was so engrossed by the internal chaos and foreign aggression that there was neither time nor funds to carry the decrees into effect.

The most extreme proposal of the period was the bill of Lepelletier le Saint-Fargeau to create a national system of education modeled closely after that of ancient Sparta. The best of the proposals was the Lakanal Law, of November 17, 1794, which ordered a school for every one thousand inhabitants, with special divisions for boys and girls, and which provided for instruction in:

1. Reading and writing the French language.
2. The Declaration of the Rights of Man, and the Constitution.
3. Lessons on republican morals.
4. The rules of simple calculation and surveying.
5. Lessons in geography and the phenomena of nature.
6. Lessons on heroic actions, and songs of triumph.

(1) E. P. Cubberley, A BRIEF HISTORY OF EDUCATION, page 282.

The law of October 25, 1795, closed the work of the Convention. This made less important provisions for primary education than had preceding bills, but was the only permanent contribution of this period to the organization of primary schools. It placed greater emphasis than had the legislative assembly on the creation of secondary and higher institutions, of more value to the bourgeois class. This bill of 1795 represents a reaction from the extreme republican ideas of a few years earlier, and the triumph of the conservative middle-class elements in the nation over the radical republican elements previously in control.

The Convention also, in the latter part of its history, created a number of higher technical institutions of importance, which were expressive alike of the French interest in scientific subjects which arose during the latter part of the eighteenth century, and of the new French military needs. Many of these institutions have persisted to the present, so well have they answered the scientific interest and needs of the nation.

The Revolution had by this time largely spent itself, the Directory followed (1795-99), and in 1799 Napoleon became First Consul and for the next sixteen years was master of France. The Law of 1795 for primary schools was but feebly administered under the Directory, as foreign wars absorbed the energies and resources of the Government. Napoleon's chief educational interest, too, was in opening up opportunities for talent to rise, and in encouraging scientific work and higher specialized institutions, and in developing schools of a type that would support the kind of government he had imposed upon France. The secondary and higher schools he established and promoted cost him money at a time when money was badly

needed for a national defense, and primary education was accordingly neglected during the time he directed the destinies of the nation.

The Revolutionary enthusiasts had stated clearly their theory of republican education, but had failed to establish a permanent state school system according to their plans. This now became the work of the nineteenth century.

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The first western nation created from the wreck of the Roman Empire to achieve a measurement of self-government was England. Better civilized than most of the other wandering tribes, at the time of their coming to English shores, the invading Angles, Saxons, and Jutes early accepted Christianity and settled down to an agricultural life. "After the Angles and Saxons and Jutes had overrun eastern and southern Britain there was a period of several generations during which this portion of the island was given over to Teutonic heathenism. In 597 Saint Augustine, 'the apostle of the English', landed in Kent and began the conversion of the people, that year succeeding in converting, Ethelbert, King of Kent. In 626 Edwin, King of Northumbria, was converted, and in 635 the English of Wessex accepted Christianity. The English at once became strong supporters of the Christian faith, and 878 they forced the invading Danes to accept Christianity as one of the conditions of the Peace of Wedmore". (1) On English shores they soon built up a for-the-time substantial civilization. This was later destroyed by the pillaging Danes, but with characteristic energy the English set to work to assimilate the newcomers and to build up civilization anew. The work of King Alfred (871-901) in reestablishing law and order, at a time when law and order scarcely existed anywhere in western Europe, will long remain famous. Later on, and at a time when German, Hun, and Slav had only recently accepted Christianity in name and had begun to settle down into rude tribal governments, and when the Prussians in their original home along the eastern Baltic were still offering human sacrifices to their heathen gods, the English barons were extorting Magna Charta from King John and laying the firm foundations

(1) E. P. Cubberley, HISTORY OF EDUCATION, page 120.

of English constitutional liberty. In the meadow at Runnymede, on that justly celebrated June day, in 1215, government under law and based on the consent of the governed began to shape itself once more in the western world. "By 1295 the first complete Parliament, representatives of three orders of society -- Lords, Clergy and Commons -- assembled, and in 1333 the Commons gained the right to sit by itself." (1) From that time to the present the Commons, representing the people, has gradually broadened its powers, working, as Tennyson has said, "from precedent to precedent," until today it rules the English nation. The rights of the common people were further strengthened by the "glorious" revolution of 1688, while the passage of the Bill of Rights in 1689 ended the "divine rights of kings" once and for all. And all this at a time when such an idea formed the basis of government everywhere else. Individual development and liberty were further fostered by the emancipative and educative advances of the period, the appearance of the printing press, in 1662, with its literature for all, science, discovery, and so forth. All of these influences awakened in England, earlier than in any other European nation, a rather general desire to be able to read, and by the opening of the eighteenth century find the beginnings of a charitable and philanthropic movement on the part of the churches and the upper classes to extend a knowledge of the elements of learning to the poorer classes of the population. The Charity Schools and the Sunday Schools were the two most conspicuous of the voluntary-organization type of undertakings for providing the poorer children of England with the elements of secular and religious education.

(1) E. P. Cubberley, HISTORY OF EDUCATION, page 487.

During the whole of the eighteenth century Parliament had enacted no legislation relating to elementary education, aside from the one Act of 1767 for the education of pauper children in London, and the freeing of elementary schools, Dissenters and Catholics, from inhibitions as to teaching. In the nineteenth century this attitude was changed, though slowly, and after three quarters of a century of struggle the beginnings of national education were finally made for England, as they had by then for every other great nation.

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In the New World the emancipation of schools from the church, government, and the inculcation of the new state motive for education was established before the end of the eighteenth century. The colonists had long been accustomed to the representative form of government and the philosophy of liberty under law. The State and Church dominions of authority were practically identical, and education was one of the earliests concerns of the Great and General Court, the central government of the Bay Colony. In 1642 and 1647 laws were passed which furthered education to an epochal degree. All children were to be taught to read and to understand both the principles of religion and the capital laws of the country. Schools were to be established under penalty of each town. By the middle of the century the religious enthusiasm waned, and reaction set in against the Latin Grammar School which was entirely unsuited to the needs of the country. The result was the establishment of the American Academy with the rise of Phillips-Andover in 1788. As the century reached its close, the evolution of state schools out of their original religious foundations became evident. The Revolution gave impetus to the establishment of the public system, and the political conception of educational purpose preached by the French philosophers found ready ears here. The resulting Constitution embodied these liberal ideas; it left education to the states by implication; it upheld self-government; it expounded a federal and state government relationship; it set forth a bill of rights, and definitely demanded religious freedom. Thus the way was open for a rapid growth of a system of public education.

At the opening of the nineteenth century then, we have the concep-

tion gradually unfolding that the schools were essentially civil affairs, that their purpose was to promote the everyday interest of society, and that the welfare of the State rather than the welfare of the Church was to be considered. "After 250 years of confusion and political failure instead of a church system of elementary education, and for the firm establishment of the elementary vernacular school as an important obligation to its future citizens of every progressive modern State and the common birthright of all. This became distinctly the work of the 19th century. It also became the work of the 19th century to gather up the old secondary school and university foundations, accumulated through the ages, remould them to meet modern needs, fuse them into the national school systems created, and to connect them in some manner with the people's schools". (1)

Let us now attempt a brief exposition of the course of events in the 19th century which lead up to the establishment of the present relationship between state and education. The countries covered by this thesis present very different pictures in this respect. To see how this was done we next turn to the beginnings of the organization of national school systems in Germany, France, England, and the United States. These may be taken as types. As Prussia was the first modern State to grasp the significance of national education, and to organize state schools, we shall begin our study by tracing the steps by which this transformation was effected there.

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(1) E. P. Cubberley, HISTORY OF EDUCATION, page 549.

THE DEVELOPMENT IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

GERMANY

THE UNDERLYING PHILOSOPHY

Nowhere has Aristotle's dictum received better and more complete application than in Germany during the 19th century. Nowhere has the theory of State supremacy dominated the educational organization of the land as completely as in Prussia before the World War. The German educational system more than any other has been fashioned by definite governmental legislation embodying the ideas of the philosophers of the period. The State became the Leviathan of Hobbes affecting every phase of everyday life.

Since the time of Frederick the Great, the individual in Germany has been accustomed to look to the State for the promotion of public welfare. The State was the mechanism ensuring him a smooth course of life. "Unlike the English or American conception of the State as an aggregation or organization for the collective interest, the German State is a moral personality distinct from the individuals composing it." (1) Such a view sprang out of the chaos and humiliation created by Napoleon at Tilsit in 1807 when he stripped Germany of much of its land and peoples. This crisis brought matters to a head. Reorganization of the State began. In accord with Fichte's teaching, the German ministers turned to education for a revitalization of the State. The

(1) P. Sandiford, COMPARATIVE EDUCATION, page 110.

defeat of Napoleon was attributed largely to the results of such teaching. Germany, seeing the value of efficiency, created a bureaucracy; seeing the need of leaders, created a caste system; and realizing that the basis of the whole scheme depended upon a contented citizenry ready to do or die but not to question why, created a double class system of education. As a nation's schools are but a "reflex of her history" one can readily realize how such a philosophy established the highly centralized school system in 19th century Prussia -- and the same holds true for all practical purposes throughout Germany. During the 19th century we have then two dominant principles reflected in Germany; 1--the conception of a state as not merely a government organized to secure national safety but rather as an organization to promote public welfare and to realize a moral and political ideal; and 2--the control of the whole range of education by the state through legislation for that end.

Having set forth the political philosophy of the situation, let us now trace in a more concrete form the development of this highly centralized state system of German education. As it will be impossible to discuss all the legislation, decrees, ordinances, and the like that set up the system, I shall attempt to trace only the outstanding documents in the history of the movement.

LEGISLATION

I have already mentioned the Allegemeine Landrecht of 1794 which made all schools and universities state institutions, subject to the control and supervision of the central authority. Since 1787 this central authority in control of education had been called the Ministry of Public Worship and Education. However, the clerical influence in the Secondary School Board was felt to have been partly responsible for the defeat of

1806, and so a department of Public Instruction was organized as a branch of the Interior department of the State in 1808. In 1817 this department was changed to an independent Ministry for Spiritual and Instructional Affairs, showing once again the alliance of the Church to education. During this period Pestalozzian methods were studied at the request and through the aid of the central authority and were introduced in the elementary schools. Teacher's Seminaries were set up for that purpose. Under Minister Von Humboldt the entire system was reorganized and redirected along national lines. The two-class system was completely established; the Volkschule was founded for the masses while a separate classical system was created for those who were to become the leaders of the nation. Continuation schools were provided for further elementary training. To insure that state ends were being carried out the "Leaving" examinations of 1812 were inaugurated and the gymnasial Program of 1837 was promulgated. "Clearly perceiving the power of such training to nationalize a people and thus strengthen the State, the Prussian leaders in the first two decades of the 19th century laid the foundations of that training of masses and teachers which paved the way for the development of an Imperial Germany." (1)

By 1825 with the establishment of school boards in each province responsible to the Ministry at Berlin, the organization of the State-school system was virtually complete. For the next half century changes consisted in the perfection of the bureaucracy, the creation of a teaching body drilled in nationalism, and the standardization of courses and work. Thus education was completely under central control through

(1) E. P. Cubberley, HISTORY OF EDUCATION, page 572.

legislative acts which were carried out to the letter.

The reactionary policy under the lead of the Austrian minister Metternich, and by "third-degree" methods, the so called Holy Alliance of continental Europe suppressed free speech, democratic movements, political liberties, university freedom, and liberalism in government and religion. The governments in this Alliance redirected and restricted the people's schools, as much as could be done, to make them conform in purpose to their reactionary ideas. In consequence, the development of popular education in Germany, was for a time checked. The earlier creative enthusiasm and the energy for the execution of great ideas disappeared, and the earlier "stimulating and encouraging attitude on the part of the authorities was now replaced by the timid policy of the drag and the brake". (1) The early tendency to emphasize nationalism and religious instruction with the emphasis now placed on moral earnestness, humility, self-sacrifice, and obedience to authority, rather than the earlier stress on the Catechism and Church doctrine was now stressed, and the liberal aspects of Pestalozzianism were increasingly subordinated to the more formal instruction and to nationalistic ends. The soldier and the priest joined hands in diverting the schools to the creation of intelligent, devout, patriotic, and above all else, obedient Germans, while the universal military idea, brought in by the successful work of Scharnhorst, and retained after the War of Liberation (1813-15) as a survival of the old dynastic and predatory conception of the State, was more and more emphasized in the work of the schools and life of the citizen.

In 1854 new "Regulations " were issued which put the course of

(1) E. P. Cubberley, HISTORY OF EDUCATION, page 581.

instruction for elementary schools back to the days of Frederick the Great. The one-class rural elementary school was made the standard. Everything beyond reading, writing, a little arithmetic, and religious instruction in strict accordance with the creeds of the Church, was considered as superfluous, and was to be allowed only by special permit. The elimination of illiteracy, the creation of obedient citizens, and the nationalizing of new elements became the aim of the schools.

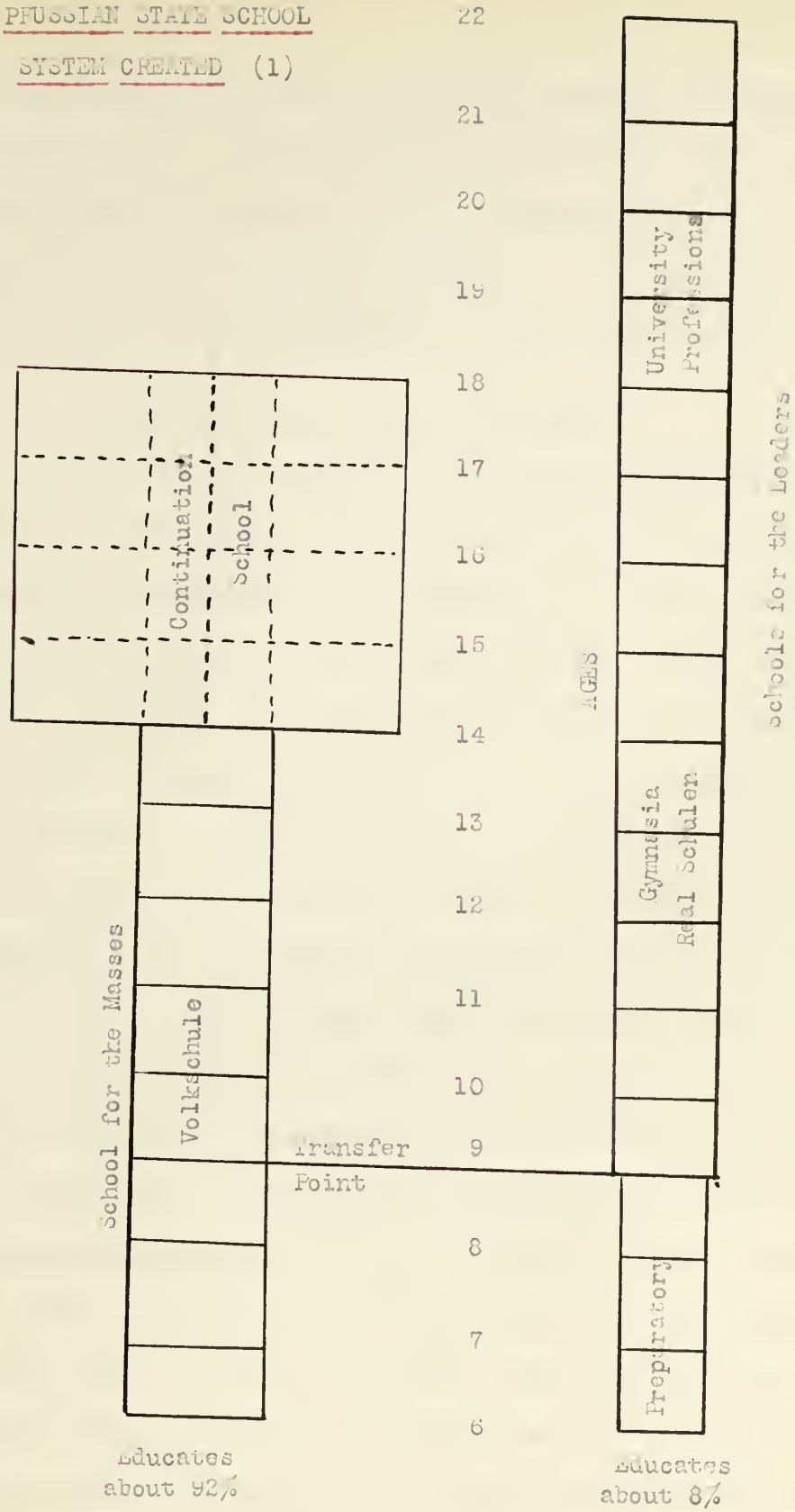
The instruction in the Teacher's Seminaries was reduced to the merest necessities, and they were given clearly to understand that they were to train teachers, and not to prepare educated men. All theory of education, all didactics, all psychology were eliminated, a return was made to the subject-matter theory of education, and a limited subject-matter at that, and it once more became the business of the teacher to see that this was carefully learned. Religious instruction naturally once more came to hold a place of first importance. Similar reactionary movements took place in other German States, all being sensitive to the reactionary spirit of the time and leadership of Austria and Prussia.

However, under Bismark a change occurred. Responding to modern scientific and industrial forces he organized an Imperial Germany. Reasserting the authority of the State in education, he issued the Regulations of 1872 which made the State responsible for all instructions whether religious or secular. The schools were to be built up to strengthen the nation as before. "Deciding clearly where the nation was to go and the route it was to follow, and that education for national ends was one of the important means to be emphasized, the different parts of the educational systems in the state--elementary,

secondary, higher, normal, professional, technical, and continuation--were carefully intergrated into a unified school system, thoroughly national in spirit and given definite function to perform in the work the nation set itself to carry out."(1) The regulations are a testimony to the intimate relationship of national government to education as it developed in the 19th century Prussia. The following diagram represents the system of schools which evolved to carry out these ideals.

(1) E. P. Cubberley, HISTORY OF EDUCATION, page 585.

THE PRUSSIAN STATE SCHOOL SYSTEM CREATED (1)



(1) E. P. Cubberley, HISTORY OF EDUCATION, page 577.

The foundations of the Empire marked the "zenith of government control of education". It culminated centuries of gradual progress toward complete state control of administration and organization of all forms of education. The State had finally won the control of education of the child and now directed the fulfillment of its aims still further.

MACHINERY OF THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

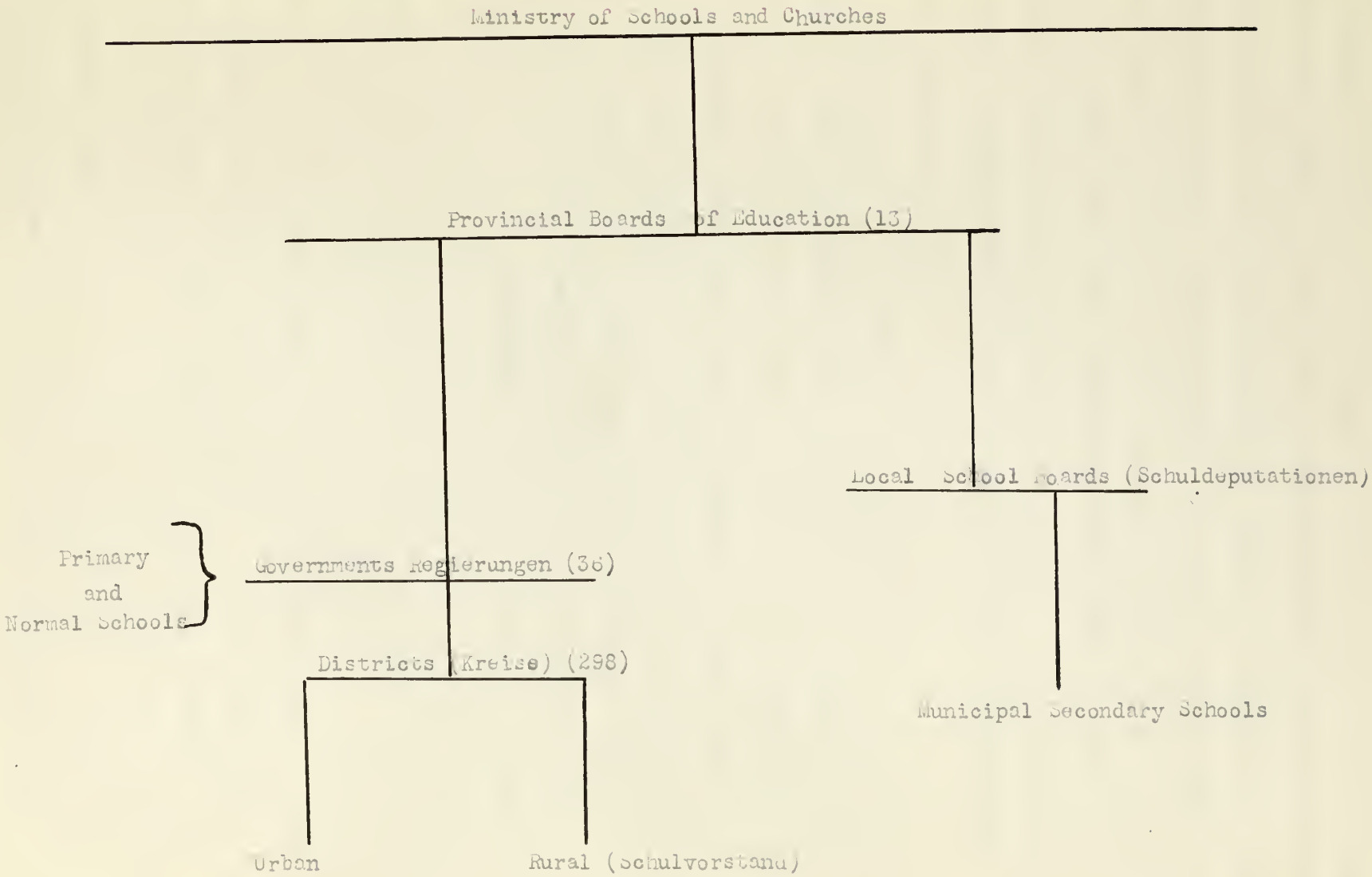
As Roman points out, one cannot really grasp the significance of the relationship of the German State to education unless he obtains an understanding of the machinery of government--the bureaucracy which so completely dominated German education before the War. A brief analysis will therefore be fruitful. The adopted German Constitution shows how little was allowed the local authorities in the matter of control and how highly centralized it was along all lines. The Kaiser, as King of Prussia, was in a position to virtually dictate to the whole of Germany under the Imperial mode of government. He had absolute control in the Bundersrat--the house of the Princes-- which in turn controlled the Reichstag, the people's Chamber. Prussia had an absolute veto on amendments and controlled all the standing committees through sheer strength of numbers. Furthermore, "Prussia enjoyed an immense moral force due to her lead in organizing Germany."(1) In each state a similar centralization of authority existed--the Upper Chamber filled by the Crown could block the Lower House elected by the people. Even this Lower House was not a democratic body, as voting was based on wealth so that one-third was appointed by 88% of the people. "The German laws were administered in a still more autocratic form".(2) The Crown appointed the Ministers

(1) F. W. Roman, THE NEW EDUCATION IN EUROPE, page 214.
(2) Ibid. page 216.

and these in turn were subject to no one but the King. The Minister nominated the inspectors of the Provincial School Board which had complete control over the various types of schools in their province in which the States had an interest.

Since Prussia had no code of educational legislation, the Minister of Education was an all-important person. His administrative orders had the force of law and he had control of filling the important educational posts as well as directly supervising the schools. The authority of the Ministry was "delegated" to the administrative bodies of the various areas. The following chart from Roman shows the scheme.

Diagram of the Administration of Primary and University Education in Prussia (1)



(1) F. W. Roman, THE NEW EDUCATION IN EUROPE, page 216.

Anyone familiar with the German system will well realize that these boards were organs of the central government exercising delegated functions and were in no sense representative bodies. The schools were state institutions subject to the authority of the State in every respect. The local authorities had only one task to perform,-namely, to carry out the program imposed from above. "Regulations" were issued by the Minister of Education pointing out in great detail just how this was to be done, while the system of inspectorship made sure that such government regulations were being duly observed.

The history of the development of a national system of education in Prussia exhibits an apparent inconsistency in that, whereas, the State very early secured extensive control, only in the most recent times has it contributed substantially toward the expenses of public education. The Constitution of 1850 had declared that support of the folk schools was to be provided by the local communities, but promised state aid if the community should be unable to maintain the set standard of the schools out of its own resources. It also set a basis for the calculation of teachers' salaries. These provisions were, however, accomplished slowly as the government after 1850 resisted the attempts of the liberal educationalists to have a general education law passed. In 1869 a law was passed calling for an annual state contribution of 60,000 thalers for pensions for widows of school teachers. In 1873 a considerable sum was appropriated for teacher salaries and retirement allowances. In 1871 total contributions of the state for primary education was $1\frac{1}{2}$ million thalers, which increased in 1873 to $4\frac{1}{2}$, in 1875 to 6 million, and in 1877 to $6\frac{1}{2}$ million. By the law of 1888 tuition fees in primary

schools were abolished and the State undertook to pay a portion of the salary of every teacher, setting aside 20,000,000 marks for this purpose. In 1893, two million marks were contributed to the erection of school-houses. However, up to 1906 no thorough-going scheme for the maintenance of primary schools had been provided. "Until the Revolution of 1918 the central authority was paying in Prussia less than one-third of the total cost of primary education."(1) Until 1911 the State of Prussia paid out in round numbers 148,500,000 out of a total of 560,000,000 marks toward expenses of elementary, middle, and secondary schools, or about 26%. For the Empire as a whole, the share of costs of these grades of education borne by various central authorities amounted in 1911 to about 33%.

THE CENTRALIZED SYSTEM

This then is the organization of Prussian education which developed in the 19th century and persisted down to 1919. At the head of the system stood the Minister of Religion and Education. Under his immediate control was an all-embracing bureaucratic organization thoroughly controlling all grades of education from the universities down to the primary school. "It is worthy of emphasis that educational administration was bureaucratic from top to bottom."(2) There was no national council to be consulted by the government as in France; there was no effort at securing a measure of popular control over the national educational policies through even a selected representative council. The minister was appointed by the King, and he appointed his immediate assistants, the members of the provincial council and county school boards, which

(1) E. H. Reisner, NATIONALISM AND EDUCATION, page 202.
(2) Ibid. page 203.

had complete control of education in their area. Still further, the composition and the strictly qualified powers of the local authority in the cities were subject to the county school boards who could even veto the acts of this representative body. The very inspection of the local schools was under the district inspector who was direct representative of the government and made sure that the laws and regulations decreed by his minister were carried out. Thus the national bureaucratic organization was extended to all levels guaranteeing the carrying out of the purposes of the central government. "The school department might decide upon the kind of school it wanted, might supply buildings and equipment, and nominate teachers out of the lists of eligible candidates prepared by provincial authorities. Once the school was in operation, however, local authority had practically no control over it. The teachers were inspected and disciplined by the provincial officials, the curriculum followed the prescription of the minister of education for that type of school, and the internal conduct of the school followed a course which could not be interfered with by the local authority in any detail.----It will be readily enough seen that the bureaucratic organization of Prussian education provided the central government a machine nicely adjusted to carry out its will."(1) The will of the group of officials in the ministry could be put into effect in every educational institution under its control without friction and without delay. This control of education by the government was exercised to inculcate in the German youth "a passionate unquestioning devotion to the Fatherland".

Enough, I hope, has been said to show how conclusively the State dominated education in Germany. Through active legislation it created

(1) E. H. Reisner, NATIONALISM AND EDUCATION, page 206.

and perfected an educational system which more than any other in the world at the time was devoted to crystallizing the spirit of nationalism, which in the twentieth century became imperialism, and brought the second humiliation of the German nation.

The relation between education and national government was as intimate as it possibly could be.

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FRANCE

THE NAPOLEONIC ERA AND INFLUENCE

Education in France also reflects the national history of the country. Church and State had been closely allied for centuries and this ecclesiastical-political factor dominated early secondary education. Popular education was largely a myth until the French Revolution, although agitation had been directed for it since the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1764. The reports on education were received by the Revolutionary assemblies and the laws were passed by the latter Convention. But little was actually accomplished as the financial conditions were so chaotic that little could be done to accomplish the one thing demanded by the Revolutionary sentiment--universal, compulsory, free education. However, the philosophic background had been laid for a national system of education.

Roman clearly points out in the opening chapter of the section devoted to France in his book, THE NEW EDUCATION IN EUROPE, "the extraordinary influence over all forms of education exercised by the secondary schools of that country."(1) Such a condition has existed from earliest times--indeed, under Napoleon, schools for the masses received but little attention, as Napoleon was interested only in training leaders. Primary education, however, received some impetus through the Concordat of 1801 with the Pope, thus permitting priests to carry on primary education albeit under government organization. The law of 1802 further provided for state control over secondary education, whether private or

(1) F. W. Roman, THE NEW EDUCATION IN EUROPE, page 131.

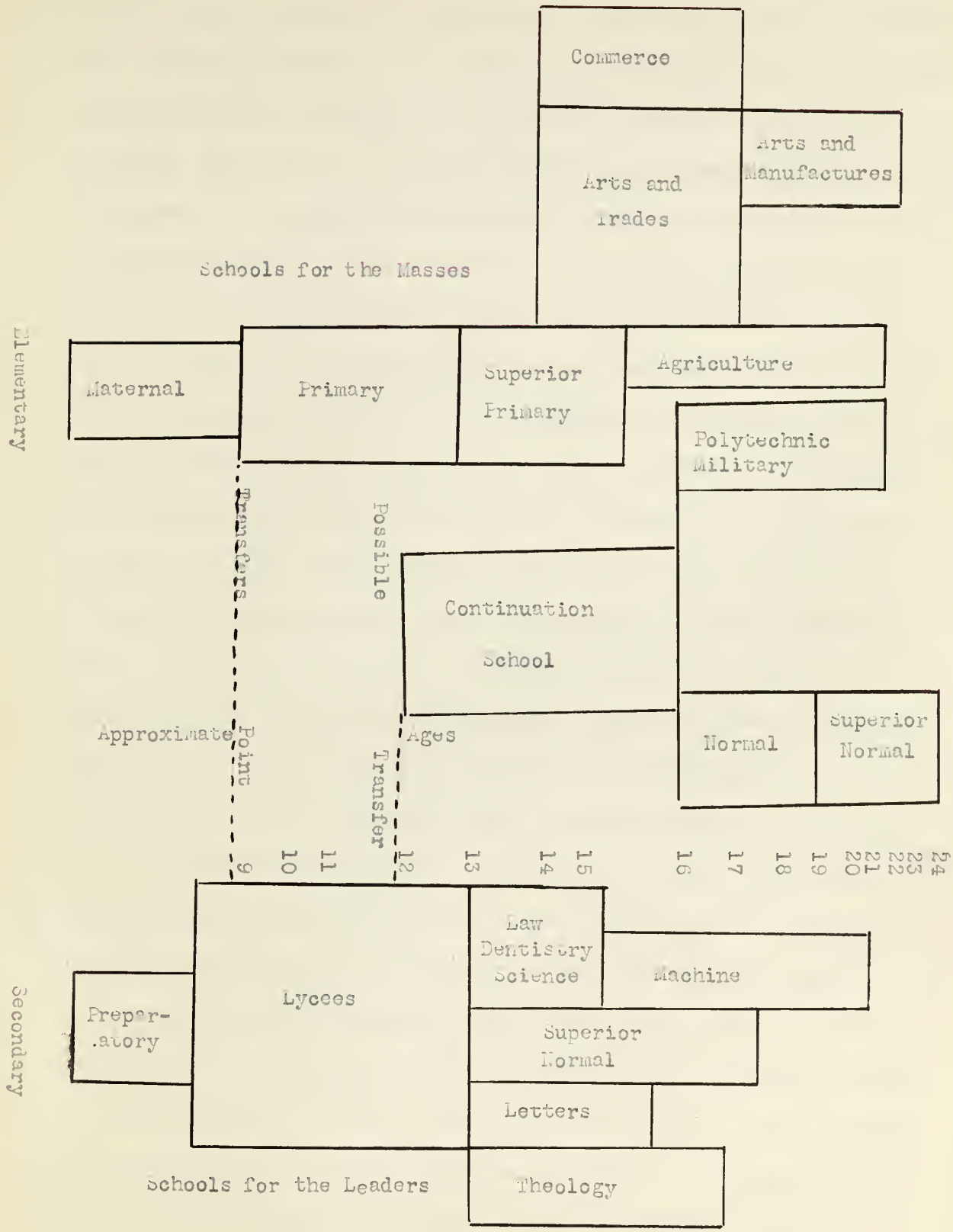
publicly supported. The logical ideal of Napoleon's system of State control of education came with the establishment of the law of 1806 of the Imperial University, a sort of teaching corporation which was to have complete control of education in the Empire. The decree of 1808 established in detail this embryonic national ministry of education as a grand master, personally appointed by the Emperor, and a university council was instituted to ensure efficient and responsive administration. It was a governing and disbursing corporation.

LEGISLATION

This law of 1802 marks the organization and unification of secondary education but little had been done for the education of the people. Such was the condition until the July Monarchy of 1830 which, though reactionary, was liberal toward popular education. The charter under which it operated contained a provision for the establishment of a system of public instruction. To fulfill this promise, Cousin was sent to Germany to examine the state of affairs there. The result was the law of 1833 which organized primary education. Primary normal schools were likewise established by this government, while state aid was increased to 1,000,000 francs annually for primary education. This law defined two grades of primary instruction--elementary and higher. Every commune was compelled to maintain an elementary primary school and every department a primary normal school, while the higher primary schools were to be established in the chief town of every department and in all cities with a population of over six thousand inhabitants. Private primary schools were allowed but were subject to the civil inspection of the government. The law also provided a fixed minimum

salary for teachers in these schools. Costs were distributed among the commune, the department, and the State with ultimate support by the State if necessary. Responsibility for the establishment of such schools and the maintenance of standards was vested with the Minister of Public Instruction, while the teacher by oath was made responsible to the national government. In 1835 by Royal Ordinance a system of inspectorship for primary education was set up, the personnel being appointed by the Minister of Public Instruction. Thus there came about the following scheme of education in France by 1840:

OUTLINE OF THE MAIN FEATURES OF THE FRENCH STATE SCHOOL SYSTEM (1)



(1) E. P. Cubberley, HISTORY OF EDUCATION, page 598.

Secondary education, still under strict government supervision and authorization, continued "to be schools of the higher social and economic class, entirely separate in administration and purpose from the primary schools which were devoted to the educational needs of the farming and industrial population".(1) The tradition that primary education was for the masses, a thing apart from secondary instruction which was for the economically favored classes from which the intellectual and political leadership was to spring, was crystallized by the development in the "50's", although the distinction was not so sharp as in Prussia at that time. The education law of 1850 which embodied the attitude of the Monarchist majority of the government showed the general reactionary policy which we have seen to be in vogue everywhere on the continent. Already the normal schools had been restricted and now the Church's influence in education was extended, thus breaking into the monopoly exercised by the University over secondary education. Private and religious schools were in general encouraged. However, a real development was also made in the strengthening of the national organization of education through the elaboration of administrative machinery. The law set up a single state-system for the old divided control among the authorities for primary education and the University, with a Minister of Public Instruction at its head and a Superior Council of Public Instruction from which the former was to take advice and with which he divided supreme authority. Such an arrangement is a recapitulation of the central authority set up by Napoleon in 1806-1808. That "national university" aspect was still maintained. However, the composition of Council indicates an effort to get "a body representative of a wide

(1) E. H. Reisner, NATIONALISM AND EDUCATION, page 62.

range of public opinion and competent to give sound advice on educational policies".[1] Napoleon III changed the liberal nature of this council considerably and instituted an autocratic control of education by the decree of 1852, which gave the Prince-President the power to name and dismiss members of this Council, the officials, and professors of the faculties; while the minister delegated powers to the rectors of naming the communal teachers.

For educational purposes the State was divided into academies, one for each department, whose administrative head was a rector appointed by and responsible to the minister. The law of 1850 also made ample provision for a system of national inspectorship, all responsible to the minister, thus insuring responsibility to central authority and uniformity of purpose. The minister also had control of the lycees established and maintained by the State, and the communal colleges established and maintained by the communes.

The law of 1854 made further administrative reorganizations. The entire country was divided into sixteen academies and ninety departments. The rector was still at the head of education in general but the prefect of each department appointed by the President was made head of primary education. He was the local agent of the central government and appointed nearly all the subordinate officials in the department. The instrument thus organized was compatible with the French desire for educational centralization and logical organization.

(1) E. H. Reisner, NATIONALISM AND EDUCATION, page 71.

THE THIRD REPUBLIC -- ITS GOVERNMENT

After the defeat of the French in the Franco-Prussian War, the Third Republic was set up in France. The high degree of centralization which was characteristic of French political institutions was carried over. However, the ideals sought for since the Revolution of 1792 were at last achieved. Manhood suffrage, a government responsible to the common will, freedom of speech, of association, and of the press were guaranteed; and above all, a system of elementary education for the French people, consistent with these democratic reforms was initiated. The Church decisively lost control in education as did the Monarchists in politics. A series of educational laws were passed in 1879 providing for the training of teachers and the establishment of normal schools. The Ferry laws of the 80's followed:--in 1881 all fees were abolished in public primary schools and boarding expenses of normal school pupils were taken over by the State; in 1882 compulsory attendance for all children from the ages of 6 to 13 was established, and school committees were set up in every commune to carry out this provision. This law also secularized and expanded the curriculum of the primary schools; instruction was directly related to nationalistic ends, since France believed the Prussian educational system had been responsible for the German victory. Thus moral and civic instruction was emphasized. The third of the great educational acts was the law of 1886 which remains the organic law governing primary education in France, establishing the "most perfect centralized and state-controlled system in the world".(1) It completed the centralization of power over education which the laws of the Second Empire had achieved. The State continued to maintain that absolute

(1) E. H. Reisner, NATIONALISM AND EDUCATION, page 92.

control over local authorities; the Minister of Public Instruction retained his powers of appointment in the three branches of education; while the prefect still held the power to appoint teachers for primary education as granted by the law of 1854. The system of inspection was retained and strengthened, and the organization of the academies was also kept.

"In short one may say that education was organized under the Third Republic on national lines and as a single unit. From the Minister of Public Instruction down to the communal council and communal teacher, the entire system was bound together in a graduated hierarchy of powers and controls which enforced upon all grades of education a uniform purpose, uniform conditions of exercise, and uniform privileges and safeguards..... Its problems were conceived from a single national point of view. Its administration was organized as a single unit. The result has been the most highly centralized school system developed in any first rate Western Nation. Local initiative in school affairs has dwindled to a disappearing minimum, while central authority has assumed a maximum of importance and influence."(1)

The law of 1886 also dealt a final blow to the educational influence of the Church; for the Church representatives were eliminated from the various councils of education, the local curate was no longer the local inspector of schools, while any member of a religious association was made ineligible as a teacher in a public school. A state system of certification by lay officials was established in this respect.

Equally important is the requirement of the Law of 1886 that every commune shall have a public primary school; private schools cannot be

(1) E. H. Reisner, NATIONALISM AND EDUCATION, page 93.

designated for this purpose. Further safeguards were provided against private schools influence which had been associated with the Church. The law of 1904 eliminated the offical church and religious associations from the schools of France forever.

The law of 1889 related to the financial support of public primary education and the salaries of the educational staff is the last of the four "Ferry" laws which established the French national system of education. This represents in a more concrete fashion the extension of national interest in the primary schools, for by its provisions the nation made itself responsible for the salaries of all members of the teaching and administrative staff connected with primary education. The State has taken over a greater share of the total cost of education as well.

Thus we see that after 1875 France saw the need of creating a strong state system of primary and secondary schools to train the youth in the principles of the Republic and to advance the welfare of the State. Millions were put into the building of new schoolhouses and their maintenance during the next decade. All elementary education became public, free, compulsory, and secular. Since 1871 technical and scientific education was also emphasized. Such instruction had gradually arisen in response to industrial development in the higher primary schools which had been created as a further extension of educational opportunities for the lower social class. It was revised by the law of 1896 and received aid from the national funds.

THE MINISTRY OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

A brief examination of the Ministry of Public Instruction itself will conclusively demonstrate the high degree of centralization. It is distinctly "an administrative-executive organization with much centralization and coördination. Local authorities have considerable control over school property; but on the pedagogical side, only a very restricted and advisory participation."(1) Each school is a part of the ministry and control is held by a series of central and local appointees, only checks being a high pedagogical standard. "The teaching profession in both primary and higher levels--these are sharply divided--is a highly organized body of national functionaries united by a strong esprit de corps. They are civil servants of the State."(2)

THE CENTRALIZED NATIONAL SYSTEM OF EDUCATION

I have already pointed out the administrative system in force. It only remains here to note that the prefect--the head of the department--is the local agent of the central government exercising little if any initiative. The rector of the academy must receive appointment through the minister. The inspectors, of course, are the eyes and ears of the minister and supervise the application of national programs of education. Through the "Manuals of Primary Instruction" and the "official" programs, detailed instructions are handed down which cover every phase of administration and instruction. "The Ministry of Public Instruction prescribes uniform programs of study, uniform disciplinary regulations, and uniform requirements".(3)

(1) U. S. Bureau of Education--Bulletin No. 12, 1930, page 103.
(2) Ibid. page 103.
(3) E. H. Reisner, NATIONALISM AND EDUCATION, page 103.

In short, the oft-quoted epigram of the French Minister of Education who could pull out his watch and say that at such a time all the pupils in the primary system were doing so and so, all in the secondsary system so and so, etc. sums up this absolute control of the State over education in France at the opening of the present century.

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ENGLAND

THE UNDERLYING PHILOSOPHY

In England, "the land of institutional evolution rather than revolution",[1] the growth of a national system was long delayed and is yet far from complete. During the 18th century no legislation--with the single exception mentioned--for the encouragement of elementary education was passed by Parliament. Indeed, the 19th century had almost elapsed before the laissez-faire attitude of the central government towards education was definitely changed.

Many factors exist behind this slow growth of direct government interests in education. England had enjoyed political freedom for a long time and political solidarity had become a matter of course. Her political institutions were stable and thus reform was slow. The Englishman's dominant racial characteristics are reflected in the situation. He hates to theorize and likes to come to grips with the practical problems of life and solve them as he goes along; he is tenacious and competitive; and above all he loves the individual liberty for which he has long fought. These traits have caused the adoption of a laissez-faire policy not only in politics but in education. Especially influential in this respect is the philosophy of J. S. Mill. His essay "On Liberty" has become the heritage of the people and the sacred text of English statesmen. It will illustrate the philosophy behind the English system of education. Liberty he defines in the following passage:

"The object of this essay is to assert one very simple principle, as entitled to govern absolutely the dealings of society with the individual in the way of compulsion and control, whether the means need

(1) F. Sandiford, COMPARATIVE EDUCATION, page 184.

be physical force in the form of legal penalties or the moral coercion of public opinion. That principle is, that the sole end for which mankind are warranted, individually or collectively, in interfering with the liberty of action of any of their number, is self protection. That the only purpose for which power can be rightfully exercised over any member of a civilized community against his will is to prevent harm to others. His own good, either physical or moral, is not a sufficient warrant. He cannot be compelled to do or forbear because it will be better for him to do so, because it will make him happier, because in the opinion of others to do so would be wise or even right. There are good reasons for persuading him or entreating him but not for compelling him or visiting him with any evil in case he can do otherwise. To justify that, the conduct from which it is desired to deter him must be calculated to produce evil to someone else. The only part of the conduct of anyone for which he is amenable to society is that which concerns others. In the part which merely concerns himself his independence is, of right, absolute. Over himself, over his own body and mind, the individual is sovereign."

Contrast these views with the Trietschean--the German conception--of the relation of the state to the individual wherein the state is elevated to a super-phenomenon to which all are absolutely obedient, and you have the heart of the difference of the educational systems in these countries as affected by governmental relationships.

Finally the geographical factors of the country--her insular position which has given her peace for internal development, her fine harbors and natural resources which have made her a great commercial and industrial nation--have affected her educational problem in a different manner and thus have governed her political philosophy in a different way than on the Continent.

"The English educational system like the English Constitution can hardly be ascribed to conscious human relation design or volition."(1) The people feared state domination, consequently a national system of education developed much later in England than elsewhere. "Educational salvation was to be secured through individual effort and experimentation."(2)

(1) P. Sandiford, COMPARATIVE EDUCATION, page 186.
(2) Ibid. page 186.

Having set forth the general philosophy behind the system, let us now turn to the events of the 19th century which brought about the gradual change in this extreme laissez-faire attitude of government to education, resulting at the opening of the 20th century in the establishment by Parliamentary act of a national system of education.

THE PHILANTHROPIC PERIOD

The Parliamentary battle began with the first Factory Act of 1802 which grew out of the reaction against the sordid conditions attendant upon the Industrial Revolution. This act made illegal the apprenticeship of children under nine years of age and ordered the master to give at his own expense rudimentary education for the first four years of each apprentice. This act set a precedent but little affected the general situation. Education was still reserved largely for members of the ruling class--that is, for the land owners and wealthy tradesmen--and the results of the Industrial Revolution served to crowd the financially poorer pupils still further out of the grammar schools which had been erected through private enterprise but had become aristocratic in nature. Education was still considered a voluntary affair to be had by those who could afford it and the government continually refused for the next quarter century to consider education as a matter in which the State should participate. However, it was realized that large numbers were not securing even the minimum of education, so philanthropic persons co-operated in founding and maintaining "charity schools". That such schools existed was the result of such private benevolence and initiative. This period has been named the Philanthropic Period of English Education, being "one of great social and political unrest, of extraordinary philan-

thropic and educational activity."[1] Not only was the Church active during this era in setting up Sunday Schools for mass education, but also, philanthropic associations which aimed at setting up real elementary schools for the children of the poor sprang up. Chief among these were:

(a) the "National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church" founded in 1811 and commonly known as the "National Society"

(b) the "Royal Lancasterian Institute" founded in 1814 and

(c) the "Infant School of Robert Owen" founded in 1816.

"In short, it is to a religious motive or to some pressing social problem such as pauperism, that we must look for any interest in the education of the poor previous to the rise of a new school of social thinkers in the latter half of the century."[2]

THE PARLIAMENTARY BATTLE

During this period attempts were made to arouse Parliamentary intervention on behalf of education. Chief among these were:

(a) the Bill of Whithead in 1807 for the establishment of a rate aided system of parochial schools--which was rejected as Parliament did not believe in popular education

(b) the Report of Brougham's Committee in 1816 regarding the lamentable state of public education; although it proposed many ways of remedying existing conditions no action was taken by Parliament at the time. "Up to the close of the third decade England had done nothing as a government in the direction of the establishment or support of any form of public education".[3]

(1) Charles Birchenbough, HISTORY OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN ENGLAND AND WALES, page 28.
(2) Ibid. page 8.
(3) E. H. Reisner, NATIONALISM AND EDUCATION, page 242.

The overthrow of the Tory government and the coming into power of the Whigs marks a new era in English political relationship to education. As the result of the Industrial Revolution "working men were now demanding not only political rights but political enlightenment, and ideas for democratizing education were already at work".(1) The Reform Bill of 1832 upon which the Whigs rode to the head of the government added the new capitalistic class to the rulers of England which was bound to recognize the new industrial order with its social conditions. In fact, the period between the Reform of 1832 and that of 1867 has often been characterized as one of "bourgeois benevolence". With the extension of State control over employment of children through the acts of 1833, 1844, 1847, attention could be paid to the education of working children and provisions were made for some schooling. However, the Newcastle Commission in 1861 reported a very unsatisfactory condition in respect to the education of children under these Labor Acts. Yet "whereas in the 18th century the central government hardly interfered at all in local affairs, the third quarter of the 19th century saw it guiding even coercing, local authorities in a wide range of activities and paying a large part of the local budgets".(2)

The extension of the interest of the central government in education illustrates this tendency. In 1833 the first parliamentary grant for elementary education was issued. A sum of twenty thousand pounds was appropriated "to be issued in aid of private subscriptions for the erection of schoolhouses for the education of the poorer classes of Great Britain",(3) and for six years such a sum was annually appropriated. The money, however, was paid out to the managers of schools

(1) Charles Birchenbough, HISTORY OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN ENGLAND AND WALES, page 29.
(2) E. H. Reisner, NATIONALISM AND EDUCATION, page 249.
(3) Ibid. page 250.

of the National Society and the British and Foreign Society by ordinary drawing procedure; no guarantees being exacted of the recipient and no state supervision being provided. Such a beginning, though momentous, was recognized as an inadequate solution of the problem. Many committees were appointed and reports made. The Report of the Select Committee of 1838 revealed the educational destitution of the period, but Parliament was in disagreement concerning the ways and means of remedying it. The question of state policy was uppermost--"shall the state supervise existing educational agencies or shall it establish a state system?" At this juncture there was created a committee of the Privy Council on Education in 1839 "to superintend the application of any sums voted by Parliament for the purpose of promoting public education".(1) Though it was compelled to continue the policy of governmental aid to education through voluntary organizations, it began to lay down very definite conditions under which such aid would be given, presenting means of administration and setting up standards for equipment. It organized a corps of state school inspectors who were to see that the grants were earned. By the Minutes of 1846 it enlarged its powers, an agency that was standardizing educational performance wherever the government money went."(2) The new powers assumed by the Committee had to be supported by increased government grants. "Beginning at 20,000 pounds in 1833, the subsidy reached 30,000 in 1834, 100,000 in 1846, 260,000 in 1854, and almost 800,000 in 1860. In 1856 the work of this committee of the Council on Education had become so important that it was made into a department and an act

(1) E. H. Reisner, NATIONALISM AND EDUCATION, page 252.
(2) Ibid. page 254.

was formed providing for a Minister of Education. Thus without anyone ever having decided upon a system--a parliamentary deadlock still existed between the supporters of the voluntary system and those of the State system of education--a system was in operation and becoming more fixed every year. Without the control or guidance of a single act of Parliament, successive Parliaments acquiesced in the spread of a great denominational system and in the growth of a great department of State that distributed in the course of thirty years some 10,000,000 pounds and gradually regulated the education of half the children in the country."(1)

AGITATION FOR A NATIONAL SYSTEM

The time of prejudice against popular education was past. Indeed, agitation for a national system of popular education became the note of the second half of the century. The National Public School Association, founded in 1850, established branches all over the country and undertook an active campaign to mould public opinion in favor of free, compulsory, government-supported schools. The Manchester Aid Society was formed in 1864 "to press Parliament to establish a complete system of free compulsory education supported by equal rates and under local government".(2) Several other leagues coöperated for this purpose. The Report of the Newcastle Commission in 1861 had resulted in the Code of 1861 controlling government grants to education "on results" which though bad, showed the attempt of the central authority, albeit without any coercive control, to supervise education through negative means. The Report of the Select Committee on Education in 1866 resulted in the passage of the Endowed

(1) Charles Birchenbough, ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN ENGLAND AND WALES, page 34.
(2) E. H. Reisner, NATIONALISM AND EDUCATION, page 250.

Schools Commission was established with powers of making schemes for the better management and government of endowed schools".[1] The government was also active during this period in furthering technical education through grants, and in 1852 a Department of Practical Art was established which, though transferred in 1856 to the Department of Education, still continued to be administered independently.

ACT OF 1870

Thus the stage was set for the passage of the Act of 1870 which marks the introduction of a national system of elementary education. Though there was a storm of protest on the part of those who favored the voluntary system and did not wish any further extension of the powers of government in education, nevertheless the reports and investigations had shown that these voluntary agencies had not proven equal to the task of reaching all the children of the country. "By 1865 it became evident that the voluntary system would never succeed in educating the nation and demands for a national scheme became part of the general movement for political and social reform".[2] The Reform Act of 1867 extending the franchise placed the power of affecting legislation in the hands of the working classes and broke "the deadlock which had so long existed between the supporters of church and the supporters of civil administration of the church".[3] The upper classes realized it had become essential "to educate their masters". The culmination of this call from all parts of the country for a national system of education was the passage of the Act of 1870.

(1) E. H. Reisner, NATIONALISM AND EDUCATION, page 250.
(2) E. P. Cubberley, HISTORY OF EDUCATION, page 641.
(3) E. H. Reisner, NATIONALISM AND EDUCATION, page 275.

This bill proposed to make use of the agencies which had already accomplished much under state aid and guidance, while it provided for the introduction of additional and new machinery. "The aid given by the State to voluntary agencies was to be continued and the educational societies were encouraged to maintain and even increase their activities." (1) In addition to their efforts, school districts were to be established with school boards elected for the purpose of providing and supervising elementary education wherever the existing supply was found to be inadequate. A compromise regarding religious instruction was effected to satisfy the traditional religious opposition. Thus the Voluntary Schools under the same management as before, though aided by the State, were allowed to give such religious instruction as the managers desired with provisos that none should be imposed on any child desiring admission and that none should be compelled to take it; while the Board Schools were under the clause that "no religious catechism or religious formula which is distinctive of any particular denomination is to be taught" though "Bible reading without note or comment" was allowed. The results were immediate:--"By 1876 the number of school places in England and Wales was found practically to have doubled in seven years, and in the increased accommodation 2/3 had been provided by Voluntary Schools while during the next five years the accommodation was increased by a half." (2)

PARLIAMENTARY GRANTS AND THEIR RESULTS

Mr. Forster, Vice-President of the Council, in presenting the Bill of 1870, gave the following statistics regarding the state-aided voluntary system:--the annual grant in 1869 for primary schools was 450,000,

(1) E. H. Reisner, NATIONALISM AND EDUCATION, page 276.
(2) Charles Birchenbough, ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN ENGLAND AND WALES, page 140.

the sum being spent to aid 11,000 day and 2,000 evening schools which had on their registers of the government-aided schools, and only 1/3 of those between the ages of 10 and 12 years; government grants aided 700,000 of those between 6 and 10 years of age and had left unhelped 1,000,000 of those between the ages of 10 and 12 years; they had helped 250,000 and had left at least 500,000 unaided. The situation was more serious when it was recognized that unaided schools were not inspected by the Department of Education and were extremely inefficient for the most part. Especially dreadful were conditions in the large cities.(1)

The deficiency of the act in failing to make attendance compulsory was remedied by the Act of 1876, which was revised in 1880, when it was made nation-wide by requiring local authorities to frame by-laws compelling attendance of children in school and allowing for the Department of Education to do so if locals failed to enact such decrees. The age was gradually raised so that by 1900, 14 was made the standard before children could leave. The Act of 1876 extended the principle of free elementary education, but it was not until 1891 that it was really made free. In the meantine local administration of education was reorganized by the Acts of 1888, 1894, and finally was completed by the Act of 1902, all of which had great influence in furthering national education. The Cross Commission of 1888 showed that "the measures of the past 18 years had covered the country with elementary schools and had brought them with considerable regularity of attendance about all the children who were legally compelled to be there".(2) Schools under government inspection had increased from 5,000 to 20,000 while the number of places

(1) E. H. Reisner, NATIONALISM AND EDUCATION, page 275.
(2) Ibid. page 281.

had increased from one million to over five million. "The school boards had provided more new schools than the Voluntary Association, but there were still two places on voluntary schools to one on board schools".(1) The Commission was satisfied that the divided system of schools--part of which were maintained by local authorities and part by Voluntary Associations, all of which were aided by national grants--should be continued. Acts were passed in 1893 for the education of the blind and deaf; in 1899 for the education of the defective and epileptic. The Bryce Commission's Report on Secondary Education in 1895 extended secondary school opportunities to children of promise in the elementary schools, and led to the creation in 1899 of the Board of Education, a single central authority to supervise the interests of secondary education in England as a whole and yet to "reconcile the ultimate unity of central control with a system sufficiently elastic to meet the most infinite variety of local requirements".(2) Thus the various activities of the Committee on Council, the Science and Art Department; the Charity Commissioners and the Board of Agriculture were coördinated under a Board of Education with a President and a Parliamentary Secretary. For the first time elementary and secondary education were unified.

Thus at the opening of the present century it was clearly recognized and incorporated into the following scheme of education that "each individual has a right to equality of educational opportunity, that education is a training for citizenship, that on the right kind of school education the foundations of national prosperity rest".(3) That the relationship between education and national government was intimate even

(1) E. H. Reisner, NATIONALISM AND EDUCATION, page 282.
(2) Ibid. page 193.
(3) Charles Birchenbough, ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN ENGLAND AND WALES, page 137.

in this country whose philosophy was so contrary to government interferences is apparent from the above account.

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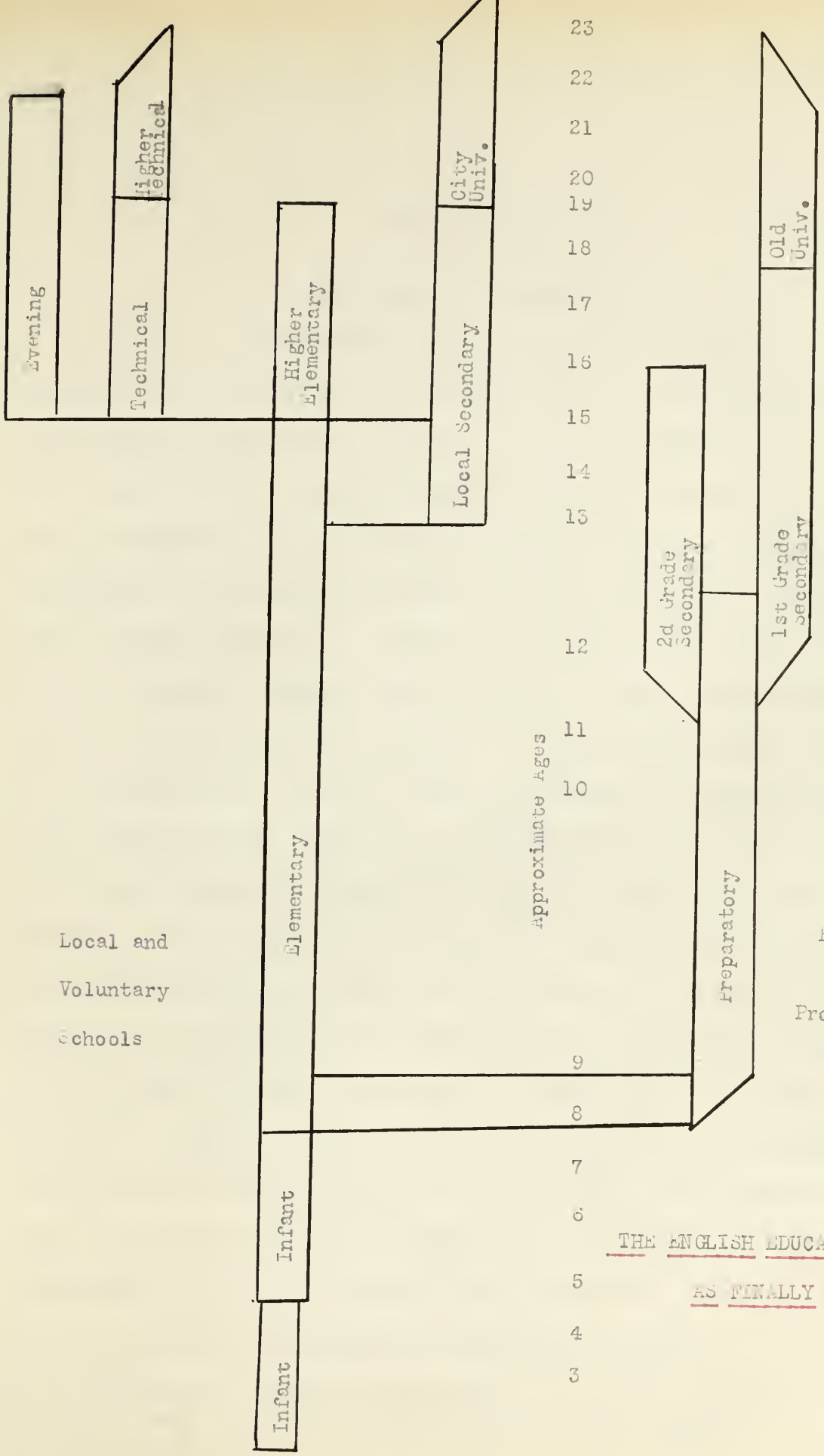

THE ENGLISH EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM AS FINALLY EVOLVED (1)

(1) E. P. Cubberley, HISTORY OF EDUCATION, page 649.

UNITED STATES

THE INHERITED TRADITION

In dealing with the relationship of the national government to education in the United States of America, it will be of advantage to keep in mind the geographic, economic, and social conditions with which every student of early American history correlates with the rise of American democracy. "Early American democracy was not democracy by legislation but by economic and social constitution.....it was achieved almost without contest and in point of time before vested social and economic interests made the change of mental attitudes obstinately slow to conform with new political forces."(1) Thus public education has not developed here as abroad as a means of protecting society against possible bad political effects of an extended franchise, "for in our country the franchise belonged to all adult white males before any real agitation for free public schools began."(2) Progress in education has been dependent upon the education of the voting public in favor of better schools. The result has been the great diversity which Sandiford points out as the "most striking characteristic of education in the United States."(3) There is no one state whose educational system is typical of the system of the others, and even in the smaller administrative units there is often wide variation. "There is no uniformity in form of organization or in relative power of these governmental units."(4) As

(1) E. H. Reisner, NATIONALISM AND EDUCATION, page 337.
(2) Ibid.
(3) P. Sandiford, COMPARATIVE EDUCATION, page 1.
(4) W. A. Cook, FEDERAL AND STATE ADMINISTRATION, page 5.

already stated, no single mind planned the educational system of England; the same statement applies to the situation in the United States. The slow evolution of ideas, government, and schools is the result of an amalgamation of many forces and the resultant diversity is due to many causes among which the heterogeneous population, the early regard for local autonomy with its resulting plasticty, and the democratic theory of the state have been most important.

THE GRANT POLICY

I have already indicated that the Constitution of the United States was silent on the subject of education. Evidently its framers thought it unwise that the national government should be made an agency for the development and administration of education. "By implication of the 10th amendment, education took its place alongside of all other powers not specifically granted to the federal government as being the exclusive prerogative and interest of the several states".(1) Therefore, though we cannot strictly talk of a national system of schools, there are features in the systems of the forty-eight states that are in common, and it is with these common features that we find the national government has been concerned with education. Before the Constitution had been adopted, however, the Continental Congress under the Articles of the Confederation had contracted obligations which led the federal government into important connections with public education in the states. The territory between the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers and the Great Lakes had come under federal jurisdiction as a national domain and in 1785 in response to pressure to make the land available for

(1) E. H. Reisner, NATIONALISM AND EDUCATION, page 339.

sale, an ordinance was passed calling for the survey of the new territory. The land was to be laid off in townships six miles square, these were to be subdivided into lots one square mile each, and "there shall be reserved the lot No. 16 of every township for the maintenance of public schools within said township". This marks the beginning of federal subsidies for education, a principle whereby 1/36 of all public lands in the United States was dedicated to the cause of public education--a connection whereby the federal government has been enabled to exercise a good deal of control over education. The North-West Ordinance of July 13, 1787, providing for a scheme of government and gradual admission of the territory to the union also declared "Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged".(1) On July 23, 1787, reservation for education of lot No. 16 in each township was made perpetual and provided for in the organization of each new state and territory up to 1848 when lot No. 36 was also to be reserved for educational purposes. On July 23, 1787, Congress ordered that "not more than two complete townships to be given perpetually for the purpose of a university" inaugurating the present method of the support of higher schools from public land proceeds. In this way 2,167,154 acres for universities, 460,800 acres for seminaries of learning, 1,360,000 acres for normal schools have been appropriated.(2) Whether the schools so endowed were to remain under national or state control remained a question until, in admitting Ohio in 1803, Congress made the State a trustee for the reserved school lands and provided

(1) J. E. Johnsen, A FEDERAL DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, 1927, page 38
(2) U. S. BUREAU OF EDUCATION - BULLETIN No. 8, 1930, page 2, 23.

an indemnity for such sections as had already been sold or taken prior to the survey. The general philosophy behind these land endowments was that education was an internal improvement which was to the advantage not only of the home state but to the nation at large which profited by the increase of population, wealth, and domestic commerce. The sections were given at first for schools in that particular township but since 1836 they have been reserved for the benefit of the entire state. Since 1875 only the rental of lands and the interest therefrom were to be used, making the gift the basis of a permanent fund. Thirty States and the Territory of Alaska received such land grants for the support of common schools from 1802-1915. Vermont, Kentucky, Maine, West Virginia, and Texas were admitted into the Union in 1791, 1792, 1820, 1863, and 1845, respectively, without receiving grants of land for school purposes. In Vermont, Kentucky, Maine, and West Virginia the United States had no lands to grant. Texas retained all of its public lands. These five states together with the thirteen original States(colonies) never received any Federal grants for common schools.

The spirit of these pronouncements, partially national in their scope and significance, has been characteristic of the federal government ever since its inception. However, "during the period of 1789-1828 the federal government had no administrative connection with education and no financial connection other than that involved in the policy of land endowments for common schools and institutions of higher learning in the states created out of the national domain".(1) Neither was there any thought of the State as a unit for educational administration, for the "national government made its land grants as

(1) E. H. Reisner, NATIONALISM AND EDUCATION, page 345.

directly as possible to the people of the township."[1] However, before the end of the third decade of the 19th century practically all the older states had created permanent literacy or school funds, the income of which was designed to aid local education effort. In general it may be fairly stated that until 1830 the provision of schools had not been accepted in the United States as a public obligation. Though in New England schools were agreed to be maintained by law, in the greater part of the United States education was provided by parents as their personal concern, by church groups, or by philanthropic associations. The control exercised over schools where they existed, by local authorities was absolute. "In short, it might be said that 'the Fathers', up to the time of Andrew Jackson's first term as President, had not seriously considered nor practically applied the conception of public education as a means of creating a national culture or of preparing the large body of citizen-voters for the respective functions of citizenship in a democratic state".[2]

SECTIONALISM

During the next quarter century the country was torn by the sectional interests of the East, West, and South, and political separation was frequently proposed, finally attempted in 1861, and settled in 1865. The entire period was taken up by such political conflicts and thus there was no real extension of nationality but rather strict curtailment of the powers of the central government. "The policy of federal aid to the states for internal improvements begun under Jefferson was soon discontinued as unconstitutional".[3] However,

(1) E. H. Reisner, NATIONALISM AND EDUCATION, page 351.
(2) Ibid. page 367.
(3) Ibid. page 374.

the federal grants to school and university sections of public lands to new states was continued. The Five Percent Fund--namely, 5% of the net return from the sale of public lands within the states-- continued to be returned to the new states for public improvements and education. Also in 1837 the surplus revenue (about 28 millions) that was accumulating in the national treasury was distributed without interest or security to the separate states. But all of these actions were to be explained not so much on the basis of federal generosity and the extension of federal control, as on the basis of state rights. "There was no extension of the federal interest in education and no development of federal machinery of educational administration between 1828-1861".(1) However, the individual states took up the demand for education which extended the political influence of the people under Jackson--and the "battle for free state schools" began which in the Thirties produced the result usually named the "Common School Revival". The way was pointed out through the efforts of Horace Mann and Henry Barnard in New England, and schools were made state-wide, compulsory, and supported out of public funds, state administrative machinery was created, local authorities were reorganized, secondary schools were fostered, teachers were trained, and the curriculum was enriched. "All of these elements of improved school conditions were more or less closely intermingled in legislation and among the states there was no orderly evolution according to type or example".(2) "By the beginning of the Civil War the cause of free schools was all but won in the East and West; and within a few years after its close free elementary edu-

(1) E. H. Reisner, NATIONALISM AND EDUCATION, page 374.
(2) Ibid. page 379.

cation became the universal practice".[1] The same activity extended education upward.

During this period the agitation over the division of public school funds and the reading of the Protestant Bible in the school became an important issue in national politics. "The Know-Nothing Party, making platform pledges against sectarian schools in the election of 1855, carried a half-dozen states on the general issue of 'America for Americans' "[2] The general result of the agitation was the passage of laws by state legislatures that forbade the division of public funds among sectarian groups for educational purposes. "A number of the states had made constitutional provisions to that effect before the Civil War, and the policy has since that time had universal adoption throughout the country".[3]

The exigencies of a stubbornly contested Civil War made heavy demands upon the federal administration and it almost immediately took on the characteristics of a strongly centralized government. The financial demands of the war led to large bonding operations with the federal treasury as principal, and to the creation of a national banking system. The need for soldiers and the principle of universal military obligation led to the draft for military service. War conditions made advisable for the suspension of rights of the individual which were guaranteed in the Constitution. "Military necessity led to the participation on the part of the federal government in all sorts of matters which had previously been regarded as the domain of the states".[4] Conspicuous in

(1) E. H. Reisner, NATIONALISM AND EDUCATION, page 400.
(2) Ibid. page 409.
(3) Ibid. page 409.
(4) Ibid. page 425.

this respect and not the least among the nationalizing agencies of the period was the generous aid given by the United States in building of transcontinental railways.

During the years of the war, the principle of expanding federal interests had direct expression in the field of education. In 1862 the first Morrill Land Grant Act was passed which granted thirty thousand acres to each State for each Senator and Representative according to the apportionment of 1860, the land to be selected in subdivisions of not less than one quarter-section from the land subject to sale at private entry at one dollar and a quarter per acre (mineral lands excluded). Each State was required to select the land within its own limits, but in case of a deficiency, the Secretary of the Interior was to issue land scrip for the balance, such scrip to be sold by the State and the proceeds applied to the purpose of the act. A bill almost identical with the one that became a law in 1862 had been passed by narrow majorities in each house in 1859. The support of the bill at that time closely followed political lines, the Democrats being opposed principally on the grounds that it represented an invasion on the part of the federal government of rights that were constitutionally reserved to individual states. When the bill came to President Buchanan for action he vetoed it. One of the reasons which he gave for his veto was the unconstitutionality of federal participation in education. When the Morrill Land Grant Bill was reintroduced in Congress in 1862, it passed by sweeping majorities in both houses and was duly signed by President Lincoln.

The interest from the fund was to be devoted to the "endowment,

support, and maintenance of at least one college where the leading object shall be, without excluding other scientific and classical studies, and including military tactics, to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and mechanic arts, in such manner as the legislatures of the States may respectively prescribe, in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions of life."(1) Provision was made for the safety and permanence of the fund. Ninety per cent of the money derived from the sale of land scrip was to be invested in stocks of the United States or of the States, or in safe stocks bearing interest not less than five per cent. The balance might be used for the purchase of experimental farms and sites for buildings. All losses from the permanent fund were to be restored by the State.

Federal supervision over the application of the proceeds was provided for. The State Governors were required to make annual reports to Congress stating the amount of land sold and the amount of the proceeds; and each State was required to report annually concerning the progress of the college, the cost and results of experiments made, and such State industrial and economic information as might be considered useful to other colleges and to the Secretary of the Interior. The States had to express their acceptance of the terms of the act within two years and provide a college within five. (These periods were extended by subsequent legislation). No State "while in a condition of rebellion against the United States" was to be entitled to the benefits of the act.

(1) U. S. Bulletin of Education, No. 8 -- 1930, page 25.

The foregoing act applied only to the States then in the Union. In 1864 it was extended to West Virginia; in 1866 to Nevada; and in 1867 to Nebraska. In 1866 it was provided that future States should become entitled to the benefits of the above act. "Twenty-three of the States within five years of the passage of the act took advantage of its provisions and established colleges of agriculture and mechanic arts either as separate institutions or as departments of existing state universities".(1) The Land Grant Colleges are the result of this act. In 1867 Congress created a Department of Education, "for the purpose of collecting such statistics and facts as shall show the condition and progress of education in the several states and territories and the diffusion of such information respecting the organization and management of schools and school systems and methods of teaching as shall aid the people of the United States in the establishment and maintenance of efficient school systems, and otherwise promote the cause of education throughout the country."(2) This department (1867-89), now the Office of Education, was in no way like the ministries throughout the Continent, for it had no direct control, no supervisory functions, no authority, and no money to distribute for the acceptance of which it could exact conditions to be fulfilled. Its influence was moral, and it was intended to serve as a clearing house of information about school conditions and educational administration. Even the colleges resulting from the Land Grant Act of 1862 did not extend the prerogatives of the federal government for the states were allowed to develop the colleges each in its own way. Thus in 1869 the Department of Education was made a Bureau in the Department of the Interior which, despite agitation over various periods, it

(1) E. H. Reisner, NATIONALISM AND EDUCATION, page 426.
(2) W. A. Cook, FEDERAL AND STATE ADMINISTRATION, page 81.

has so remained. The editorial quoted herewith shows that there is still a demand for the creation of a National Department of Education.

Tools and the Cabinet

"A strong national committee of fifty-one members has brought in a report on 'Federal Relations to Education' which one reads with mingled admiration and apprehension. Opponents of the current tendency to run to Washington for everything have been no more forceful in their objections to undue centralization than is this committee. Yet it voted three to one for a department of education with a secretary at its head, 'of equal status' with all other members of the President's Cabinet.

The committee is opposed to all federal dollar-matching schemes. It finds that the present educational activities of the government are overlapping, uncoordinated, distributed among all the departments in a manner which produces a 'bewildering sense of unnecessary complexity'. It condemns the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917 for dealing with vocational education as a basis of duplicating dollars. It would abolish that bureau, together with all like schemes. It would terminate all provisions which give federal officials authority to withhold funds and require approval of state plans and standards as a condition precedent to federal grants. Those recommendations all seem sound.

By a vote of 38 to 11 the committee went on record for a secretary of education. The two labor members William Green and Matthew Wall, refrained from voting on this part of the report, while indorsing it as a whole. What the committee asks is stated most succinctly in this carefully guarded passage. 'The department here recommended will have no legal or financial power and no regulatory or executive authority, direct or indirect, explicit or implied, by which it may control the social purposes and specific processes of education'. The committee holds, on doubtful reasoning, that such a department would tend rather to check the trend of centralization than to promote it.

What would happen were such a department created? Would it not inevitably result in the very centralization and control which the committee objects to so strenuously? Would not the secretary try to build up in his department the very kind of power which the committee decries? In one minority report, signed by only two members, we are told that the argument for the establishment of this cabinet department simply vitiates the argument on which major stress is laid in other portions.

We have to remember that the appointment of any such cabinet member would be almost certainly a political appointment. Every observer knows how bureaus tend to grow under the peculiar conditions of fertility which exist in Washington. The beginning may be modest. The restrictions may be severe--at the outset. But, little by little, advice tends to become

guidance, and direction to become dictation. A multitude of ingenious devices is operated to enlarge the functions and the authority of any such establishment. It has been so in the past, and not until human nature is changed fundamentally will it be different in the future.

The committee itself provides a cogent statement of the fundamental objection to its proposal when it says:

> A nation built upon a theory of popular sovereignty, personal responsibility and capacity for self-government can ill afford for the sake of quick results to weaken itself where it has long been virile." (1)

THE RECONSTRUCTION PERIOD

During the period of reconstruction, federal aid was continually sought for building up a system of public education for the South. The Hoar Bill of 1870 which went further and proposed a federal system of educational aid and control for the entire United States, and the more moderate Blair Bill of 1881 "which contemplated federal grants to states on the basis of the present illiteracy", are the most notable examples of this tendency; but both bills failed to become laws and agitation for federal aid to general education was stilted until the last decade of the century. During those years educational change was slow and the general "principle of local self-government which had characterized our national life up to the Civil War continued to be the rule of civil administration--in school as in other affairs". (2) Even the "power which the state possessed to improve educational facilities through making state contributions depend on local effort was little appreciated during this period and used hardly at all." (3) However, the disadvantages of a too complete local control were beginning to be felt and significant extensions of the central authorities were in the creation process.

(1) THE BOSTON HERALD, NOVEMBER 17, 1931
(2) E. H. Reisner, NATIONALISM AND EDUCATION, page 437.
(3) Ibid. page 446.

"Conditions were ripe for the great extension of functions of the state authorities".(1) The same holds true for the national government.

INDUSTRIAL AMERICA AND ITS EFFECTS ON EDUCATION

The social and economic changes since the Civil War--the growth of urban centers, the increase of immigration, the extension of manufacturing, and the creation of a "big business" through combinations in industry and transportation--all had great influence in the change of the national government relationships to the state in many lines. Political reforms had to follow the wide-spread conception following in the wake of the rise of modern United States--the development of transportation by rail, the growth of corporations, and the vast increase in the amount of interstate business, introduced conditions with which the individual states were unable to cope. The federal government had to step in to cope with the national scope and organization of big business. Hence the Interstate Commerce Commission was created in 1887, the Anti-Sherman Act of 1890, and the Federal Trades Commission in 1914, besides a host of other national acts, by which the federal government recognized the need of a federal law and administration to control the national range of production and exchange. The creation of new departments in the federal machine was also a feature. The conservation movement of natural resources also has its initiation in this period, and not only the material resources of the country but the human resources as well have become the concern of the federal government. "In the ultimate analysis indeed, all the activities of the government in connection with public education are to be described under the general caption of

(1) E. H. Reisner, NATIONALISM AND EDUCATION, page 467.

the conservation, the utilization, and the cultivation of the human resources of the nation".[1] Such modifications of public opinion lie at the bottom of the changes which took place and are still taking place in the relationship between national government and education.

In 1887 Congress passed a law known as the Hatch Experiment Station Act which appropriated to each of the various states and territories the annual sum of $15,000 for the establishment of agricultural experimental stations in connection with the colleges established by the Morrill Act for "the acquiring and diffusion of information in agriculture and to promote scientific research in agricultural science". Each station was to report annually to the governor of the state concerning its operations and financial accounts, who was in turn to send a copy of the report to the Commissioner of Agriculture and the Treasurer of the United States. This act marks an attempt "to organize a system wherby the efforts and successes of each state were enabled to aid all, and whereby the guidance and the stimulation of an efficient central office could give unity and standing to the combined labors of all".[2] These contributions were increased by later provisions.

In 1890 the Second Morrill Act adding to the federal support of the Land Grant Colleges was passed. The annual contribution was increased to $25,000 per year with the minimum of the restrictions that characterized the first grant. It has been called "the first continuing grant made by the United States government in aid of education and still continuing to meet the increasing expenses of the institutions."[3] The six new states admitted during this period--North Dakota, South Dakota,

(1) E. H. Reisner, NATIONALISM AND EDUCATION, page 476.
(2) Ibid. page 479.
(3) W. A. Cook, FEDERAL AND STATE ADMINISTRATION, page 74.

Montana, Washington, Idaho, and Wyoming--also received the customary grants for the support of common and higher shcools but in a considerably increased amount. North Dakota thus received the 16th and the 36th sections, and also an additional grant of 500,000 acres for higher and special institutions.

As the next instance of federal participation in general education comes in 1906, I shall leave the development of the relationship in the United States, in accord with the thesis outline, and return to the national government and education in twentieth century Germany. Until the 20th century there were two main principles underlying the relation of the state to education: 1) the State has a right to virtual monopoly in education--characteristic of Germany and France; 2) the doctrine of laissez-faire with the implication that the State may step in to supply deficiencies. Some changes have, however, taken place in the Post War period to which I now turn as the Fourth Part of this thesis.

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THE PRESENT RELATIONSHIP

GERMANY

THE UNDERLYING PHILOSOPHY

The nationalistic, centralized school system developed during the 19th century was further aggravated in the early 20th century by the constant alarm and rumors of war, the aggressive attitude of Germany in world affairs with the ascendance of the progressive William II, the dismissal of the satiated Bismark, and the unsatisfied demands for increased outlets for the unparalleled economic expansion of the country. "The German boy and girl had been educated in an emotional atmosphere of patriotism",[1] and the schools, especially the lower schools, had been particularly active in moulding the youth into a national unity. "The schools are in every sense state institutions."[2] Prussian history--one successful political tradition, the Hohenzollern dynasty which had produced the greatness of Prussia--upheld such teaching. "Despite the introduction of popular representation and the forms of parliamentary government, Germany had not essentially changed in the period between 1807-1918."[3] Thus the schools had as their outstanding feature a "closed-in" character--not one boy in 10,000 who completed the primary school entered the gymnasium and "90 per cent of the German children received their education in the primary schools"--[4] the middle school organized in 1872 for the more prosperous of the

(1) E. H. Reisner, NATIONALISM AND EDUCATION, page 208.
(2) P. Sandiford, COMPARATIVE EDUCATION, page 116.
(3) E. H. Reisner, NATIONALISM AND EDUCATION, page 211.
(4) Ibid. page 213.

"middle class" only received 3/10 of all the school children. That the German nation was undemocratic is not to be denied.

Despite this general dominating tendency, there was a strong minority influence in politics, which aimed at liberalizing political life and criticized the existing educational system severely. This small voice rose to commanding heights with the failure of the German system in the World War. A start had been made in 1908 with the definite reorganization of a system of secondary education for girls. That this was a significant movement, a real attempt to depart from the traditions of a century and to develop a system of education intended "not only to meet the educational needs of girls but to satisfy modern conception of a liberal education"(1) can hardly be denied when we keep in mind that secondary education in Germany until that time meant education for leadership. Another movement that was pointing the way along a democratic line was the adjustment of education to industrial and commercial needs through vocational schools. But here the distinction of mass and class was still maintained. However, by the Imperial Trade Ordinance of 1911 it was extended to girls as well and has assumed a greater cultural significance. In such ways had the liberal element in education made itself known before the Constitution was adopted.

The abdication of Emperor William II was announced on November 9, 1918. From that date Germany was declared a republic. The Imperial Parliament was dissolved and the monarchical heads of the federal states either abdicated or were deposed. Elections for a National Constitutional Assembly were held in January 1919, in which all Germans, women

(1) E. H. Reisner, NATIONALISM AND EDUCATION, page 215.

as well as men, over twenty years of age were eligible to take part. On February 11, the assembly elected Friedrich Ebert, a former saddler, the first president of the new republic. The new constitution was adopted July 31 and has been effective since August 13, 1919. This new constitution--on paper, at least--is as liberal as any other. Though reproducing practically all the more prominent administrative features of the Empire, it represents in spirit a thorough-going change from the old. Though the new nation is composed of the same federated states as the old, the institution and all the trappings of monarchy have been destroyed. The Reichstag, elected on the basis of universal suffrage of both sexes, is the center of political power while the popular houses in the various states have a like balance of power allotted to them. Parliamentary responsibility of the executive branch with a new election when the ministry fails to get support of the Reichstag, has been incorporated and direct referendum to the people when the opposition in the Reichstag is 1/3 of its members. A strong bill of rights makes all Germans equal before the law and gives them the same civil rights and duties.

PROVISIONS OF CONSTITUTION OF 1919

In regard to education, the Constitution of 1919 declared "moral education, civic sentiment, personal and professional service in the spirit of German patriotism and international reconciliation are to be striven for in all schools".(1) As Roman points out, this indicates the change in the entire philosophy of German education. "The German schools are to teach international reconciliation (Volkeruerschnung).

(1) E. H. Reisner, NATIONALISM AND EDUCATION, page 217.

The volume containing such idealism is to be made a gift by the State to each child at the age of 14 years".(1) As Kandel indicates "the Constitution of 1919 limited itself to defining certain principles to guarantee educational rights and equality with the promise of subsequent legislation on specific points as Article 10 provides".(2) Thus in Section IV devoted to education and the schools, one reads that "Art, science and public instruction in them are free; that education be furnished in public institutions; that training of teachers shall be uniformly regulated; that the states are responsible for the conduct of education, that compulsory education is to be universal;--full time for eight elementary years followed by part-time up to 18; that a common foundation school for all children;--that schools may be organized on a denominational, inter-denominational, or secular basis; that teacher nor pupils be compelled to give or participate in religious instruction; that private preparatory schools should be established and that the emphasis being placed on civic and manual training in the schools".(3) To carry out these fundamental principles the federal government through the Kulturabteilung of the Ministry of the Interior drafted the law of April 20, 1920, for the general establishment of the Grundschule and the abolition of the preparatory, or Vorschule. The suggestion, and the Richtlinien, of February 1921, and the Suggestions on Curriculum of April 18, 1925, passed for putting this proposal into effect marks the end of direct federal action in education. A Committee on Educational affairs was established in the Ministry of the Interior

(1) F. W. Roman, THE NEW EDUCATION IN EUROPE, page 241.
(2) I. L. Kandel-T. Alexander, REORGANIZATION OF EDUCATION IN PRUSSIA, Introduction.
(3) Ibid.

in 1924 of eight members to consult on standards--especially on secondary education and teacher training--and the states were required to submit to it before enacting any proposals affecting the fundamental character of education in that state. That further federal action was doubtful was expressed in 1924 by the Federal Chancellor: "the conduct of the schools will in accordance with the regulations of the forthcoming federal law be left to the states to be regulated independently".(1) Though no such law was passed the states have proceeded to organize their own system of education within the general provisions of the Constitution. The administration of education is now a state affair, the federal laws being carried out by state authorities. Though there was a strong favor toward the extension of federal participation, it would not be forthcoming. "Education is then a matter for the State".(2) Such a feeling was furthered by the Federal Education Conference of 1920 which favored federal uniformity in such matters as minimum essentials in each type school, teacher training, etc. but recommended decentralization of administration, each state legislating for itself in accord with federal principles and an arbitration board for settling disputes between federal government and state and local authorities. So much has been already adopted "but there is no likehood that the future suggestions that the Federal Government give financial assistance to the states for educational purposes will be adopted in the near future."(3)

The school reform in Germany is a curious mingling of the views of the conservatives and the radicals, between the highly evolved, well-organized school system and the hold of classicism and "a stream of

(1) I. L. Kandel, ESSAYS IN COMPARATIVE EDUCATION, page 15.
(2) Ibid. page 14.
(3) I. L. Kandel-T. Alexander, REORGANIZATION OF EDUCATION IN PRUSSIA, Introduction.

idealistic and progressive tendencies, many of them deeply rooted in the romantic philosophy of the past and others engendered by the swift, social changes of the modern era. The release brought by the political revolution, the social idealism of the Youth Movement, the general mania for recreation, the popularity of modern trends in art, and a re-statement of philosophy, have all been operative in freeing the schools from the bonds of an outworn tradition. Before 1918 these were only minority movements. Now they have swept the majority of schools and teachers into mass action that is slowly transforming the educational institutions of Germany into a national public school system that will better fit the ideals of democracy."(1) It was well recognized that the failure of Germany had been due to the lack of social unity fostered by the dualistic school system that had sprung up in Germany during the 19th century in "response to the humanism of the period".(2) This dualism was the hardest task the German school reformer had to face. However, I have suggested that a wedge had been made with the rise of the Oberrealschule in the closing decades of the past century in response to the general mechanism and materialism beside the traditional "Humanische" gymnasien and of the Polytechnic schools developed to serve industrial life, which indicate the beginnings of the abandonment of the former idealistic tendencies of the 20th century. Thus after statesmen had succeeded in building up a democratic republic in 1919, the educators had to reorganize education along the same line. The ideals of the new republic demanded the breakdown of the old two-class system of education which perpetuated the caste system.

(1) T. Alexander-B. Parker, THE NEW EDUCATION IN THE GERMAN REPUBLIC, Introduction.

(2) Ibid. Introduction.

Before we turn to the reform in the educational system in Prussia, I wish to submit an interesting and illuminating summary of the new ideals in German educational reform as analyzed by Kellerman in his study of "World War Effects on Education in Europe".(1) He lists:

a) "Tendency away from exclusive individualism and separation of people into castes, to social devotion and cooperative companionship.

b) Tendency away from autocracy and paternalism to creative spirit, self-activity, and personal initiative.

c) Tendency away from materialistic and economic aspect of life to idealism, beauty, and philosophic penetration.

d) Tendency away from quantity, superficiality, unrelated unaltering of knowledge to quality, mastery.

e) Tendency away from mere intellectualism, drill, memory work to totality of psychic life including the imponderable.

f) Tendency away from narrow specialization and analytic dissection to broad understanding of everything humane, a synthesis of life's problems.

g) Tendency away from artificial sub-division like yearly curricula and single subjects to unaffected simplicity, natural development, and universal correlation."

If we compare the above philosophy to the Treitheism which made the State a veritable Leviathan, the war certainly had an economic effect upon the German mind.

SCHOOL REFORM IN PRUSSIA

Again it is to Prussia that I shall turn for an analysis of the concrete manifestations of the new German philosophy. Once again we may state, but with far more reservation, that the situation in Prussia is more or less typical of the conditions in the other federal states, but less so than before the war. However, though the educational ques-

(1) F. Kellerman, THE EFFECT OF WORLD WAR ON EUROPEAN EDUCATION, page 54.

tions were relegated in 1919 to the individual states the National Assembly agreed in the all-school conference I have mentioned above that the Prussian Minister of Education would work out the Reform. This reform was put into all Prussian schools in 1925.

Before passing to the outer organization of the school system evolved in Prussia, it would be well to give some analysis of the central governmental machinery in its educational aspect. The Ministry for Science, Art, and Popular Education is the central authority and its function is "broadly conceived as covering more than the promotion of education".(1) No longer Minister of Schools and Churches, as the Constitution separated the Church and Education--the minister is now appointed by the President of the State. The Ministry is divided into eight departments, it prepares bills and budget, issues decrees, regulations and suggestions. Associated with it is the "Zentral Institut für Erzschung und Unterricht, which serves as a clearing house for educational information and conducts research, institutes lectures, and courses in education and allied fields, and organizes tours for educational investigation in different parts of the country."(2) Special branches of education are under the control of other ministries; the Ministry of Commerce is responsible for industrial and commercial education, the Ministry of Agriculture for agricultural education, the Ministry of Public Welfare for the care of children outside school age, institutions for defectives, etc. For administrative purpose the state is divided into provinces each under a "Oberprasident" and a Provincial School Board which is the educational authority and whose school function

(1) I. L. Kandel, ESSAYS IN COMPARATIVE EDUCATION, page 14.
(2) I. L. Kandel-T. Alexander, REORGANIZATION OF EDUCATION IN PRUSSIA, Introduction.

is the supervision of secondary education. The Section for School Affairs is the authority in the counties. Inspection by the Constitution is now performed by professional educators--these Schulrate are state officials appointed by the minister and are leaders of elementary education. The decree of November, 1919 also required the establishment of advisory parent's council for every school.

It is now so much in the organization of administration of education as in the spirit of the relationship between the central and local authorities that the great change has occurred. "The domination and prescription has been replaced by stimulation, advice and council."(1) This change in the spirit of administration reflecting the change in the principles underlying the relationship between State and Education is well demonstrated in the substitution of the Rechtlinien or SUGGESTIONS for the previous Bestimmung or DECREE and the Verordnung or ORDINANCE. The change from a monarchy to a republic has not been merely a change in form of government but has been a change in philosophy. "Under the pre-war theory the State was the repository of Kultur and to that end the State had the right of directing education. The principle derived from the Constitution was that national character cannot be defined a priori but is something that must be slowly built up through education."(2) Thus the tasks of the schools was to develop a spirit of national solidarity not based on externals but through consciousness of common culture. Thus the principle was adopted that culture is not one thing alone subject to definition by authority. Thus the function of the State was to "provide facilities that led to the development of

(1) I. L. Kandel, ESSAYS IN COMPARATIVE EDUCATION, page 14.
(2) Ibid. pages 14, 15.

national culture through interplay of individual and environment".[1] This spirit is seen in the substitution of outlines for the former prescribed courses of study. "The tendency of the State is thus to allow some freedom and flexibility in the internia and to set standards for the externia".[2]

The equalization of opportunity is another fundamental part of the Reform and the principle of the common public school--the Einheitschule--has been created to carry out the federal design of a "total school system with unity existing among its parts, transfer for the pupils being both vertically and horizontally. The present organization of the German schools has supplanted the three distinct systems with a common school, which has thus far brought unification in a limited sense. All school types together now comprise an organic unity with transfer from one part to another made relatively easy."[3] Section 146 of the Constitution states the issue thus: "the public school system is organized as an organic whole." Every child is required by federal law to attend the Grundschule for the first four years of the compulsory eight years attendance and the entire system has been founded upon this basis. It has done much to diminish the old caste feeling, for it has virtually done away with the private preparatory Vorschule schools. The four upper grades of the elementary system is called the Volksschule with an Oberhau, and elementary school extension of two years in rare cases, thus providing elementary education until the age of 16 years. Those that do not go on in school are obliged to spend the rest of the compulsory school period--until the completed 18th year--

(1) I. L. Kandel, ESSAYS IN COMPARATIVE EDUCATION, page 15.
(2) Ibid. page 15.
(3) T. Alexander, NEW EDUCATION IN THE GERMAN REPUBLIC, Introduction.

in a Continuation school. Though it has been well nigh impossible to carry out the Continuation provision throughout Germany, "it will soon be universal despite Germany's poverty".(1) Forty percent of Prussia's children between the ages of 14 and 18 go to such schools while similar provisions have been enacted in 15 states. Furthermore school material as well as instruction is absolutely free in the Elementary and Continuation school systems by provision of the constitution.

"The Middle and Higher schools are to be extensions of the common school" says the Constitution. These higher levels of education still require small tuition fees. However, "the acceptance of a child in the Middle or Higher schools is to be decided by the future occupation of the child and its own inclinations and talents rather than by the social or economic position of its parents".(2) An article of the Constitution provides that the Empire, provinces, and communes may vote public money to aid poor parents in defraying the expense of sending their children to the Middle or Higher schools provided these children show ability to profit thereby. Nor is the pupil of ability to be kept out of the Gymnasium should he choose to follow this course of training when he leaves the Grundschule. The most capable are chosen by the united judgment of the Grundschule and Gymnasium through an examination. This speaks volumes for the change in German educational policy, since before the Reform the Gymnasium was only for the ruling class. A liberal system of scholarship and low tuition fees makes the passage virtually open to all of ability. Nor is the pupil denied the highest form of education, for provision has been made for the exceptionally endowed children of the poorer classes through the establishment of an Aufhauschule, a people's

(1) F. W. Roman, THE NEW EDUCATION IN EUROPE, page 240.
(2) Ibid. page 240.

higher school. All the secondary schools have been placed on the same standing so that any feeling of class may be abolished.

The cost of such education is borne by the State and school districts. The State Elementary School Fund Bureau established by the law of 1920, amended by later regulations, attempts to equalize the burden for teachers' salaries. It is not a state office but merely acts as a central organiztion to administer funds contributed by State and local units. The State thus gives $\frac{1}{4}$ of the salaries of all the teachers on the basis of one teacher to every sixty pupils, $\frac{1}{4}$ of pension costs and allowance for dependents, $\frac{1}{2}$ of the costs of all salaries and maintenance calculated on the basis of pupil enrollment, and may even contribute 1/3 of the costs of school buildings if they come up to the set standards. Resort may also be made to the State for additional assistance if necessary. Similar arrangements have been enacted for middle school salaries. Secondary educational costs, except for the state schools, are borne by the local authorities. State aid has also resulted in a practically free system of adult education.

Section 148 of the Constitution sums up the new spirit in Germany education:

"A moral education, a sense of responsibility to the State, personal and professional integrity in the spirit of German nationality, and a reconciliation with the nations are to be set as the goal in all schools.

Instruction in citizenship, and training in manual labor are branches of instruction in all the schools.

A system of popular education including the people's High Schools

is to be fostered by the Empire, the States and the local communities." It is evident that there has come a great change in Germany.

Without going further into the Reform in regard to the system of schools--as this goes outside the scope of this thesis--I should like to present Kellerman's summary:(1)

a) created unity and clearness in school system--Ein heitschule.

b) diminished caste feeling by abolishing private preparatory schools, by substituting Gymnasia and graduate university work for the elementary teachers' training school, by placing definite types of Gymnasia on some standing, by decreasing school fees and increasing stipends for the poor.

c) strengthened community spirit by organizing student self-government, parents' advisory councils and teacher study groups, by instituting monthly excursions for all schools, by establishing social school activities, by introducing civics as a subject in all schools, by increasing and deepening the study of German, history and geography.

d) by establishing types of Gymnasia, one definite restricted sphere of culture assigned to each, thus getting mastery in one field--making courses of each type means of education.

e) by establishing Deutsche Oberschule, it has founded a school devoting itself to the finest of German culture.

f) by establishing the Aufhauschule, it has given opportunity for higher education to exceptionally endowed children of poorer classes in addition to some change to pass on from Grundschule to Gymnasien.

g) compulsory three year vocational course for all elementary school graduates. Reform has offered free vocational training to all.

h) correlation of subjects worked out in curricula. Present idealism is that Fichte's educating the whole personality thoroughly and completely.

(1) F. Kellerman, THE EFFECT OF WORLD WAR ON EUROPEAN EDUCATION page 55-6.

THE NEW SPIRIT

"The new spirit of administration aims to promote the creation of a new culture based on individual development in order to produce citizens better able to cope with the problems of democracy conscious of the common culture on which new Germany is to be built."(1) The new principle upon which Germany seems to be building the relationship of State to education is that of freedom exercised by a body of educationalists--thus special attention has been devoted to a new system of a teacher training as the best method of accomplishing the goal. Thus it has been placed on a university basis while the normal schools have been replaced by graduate schools of education. Minimum supervision and maximum independence has been aimed at. There is no "compelling progress"--the new regulations safeguard the teacher's initiative rather than hamper it. Such a tendency is well illustrated in the facilitation of opportunities for organizing new types of schools and new methods of teaching. Thus such experimental schools as the Arbeitschule, Schulegemeidin, Begabtenschule, Waldschulen, Gemeinschaftschulen, etc. have sprung forth. Furthermore for the first time public school teachers are officers in the Pedagogical Council of the Minister of Education, aiding in the preliminary preparation of school laws: Such innovations were unheard of before the war.

The slowness of the Reform to be actually put into practice is due to the hold of tradition, the lack of funds, and the necessity of preparing teachers guided in the new philosophy. However, the requirements have been written into the Constitution and "German law means performance". It will be done; no one need doubt that.

(1) I. L. Kandel, ESSAYS IN COMPARATIVE EDUCATION, page 16.

A final paragraph to this brief sketch;--Germany since the war has changed greatly in spirit. The political democracy set up in form is to be a real fact; thus the educational institutions are being opened to all alike. However, though it is still largely a matter of change of spirit, from the little I have read, I feel that the new spirit will be crystallized in proper institutions, educational and otherwise. It is a far cry already from the situation which existed before 1919, and changes take time. The following diagram and data from Kellerman's THE EFFECT OF WORLD WAR ON EUROPEAN EDUCATION will serve to indicate the changes that have already occurred.

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School Attendance in Germany

-quoted from Kellerman, p. 19-

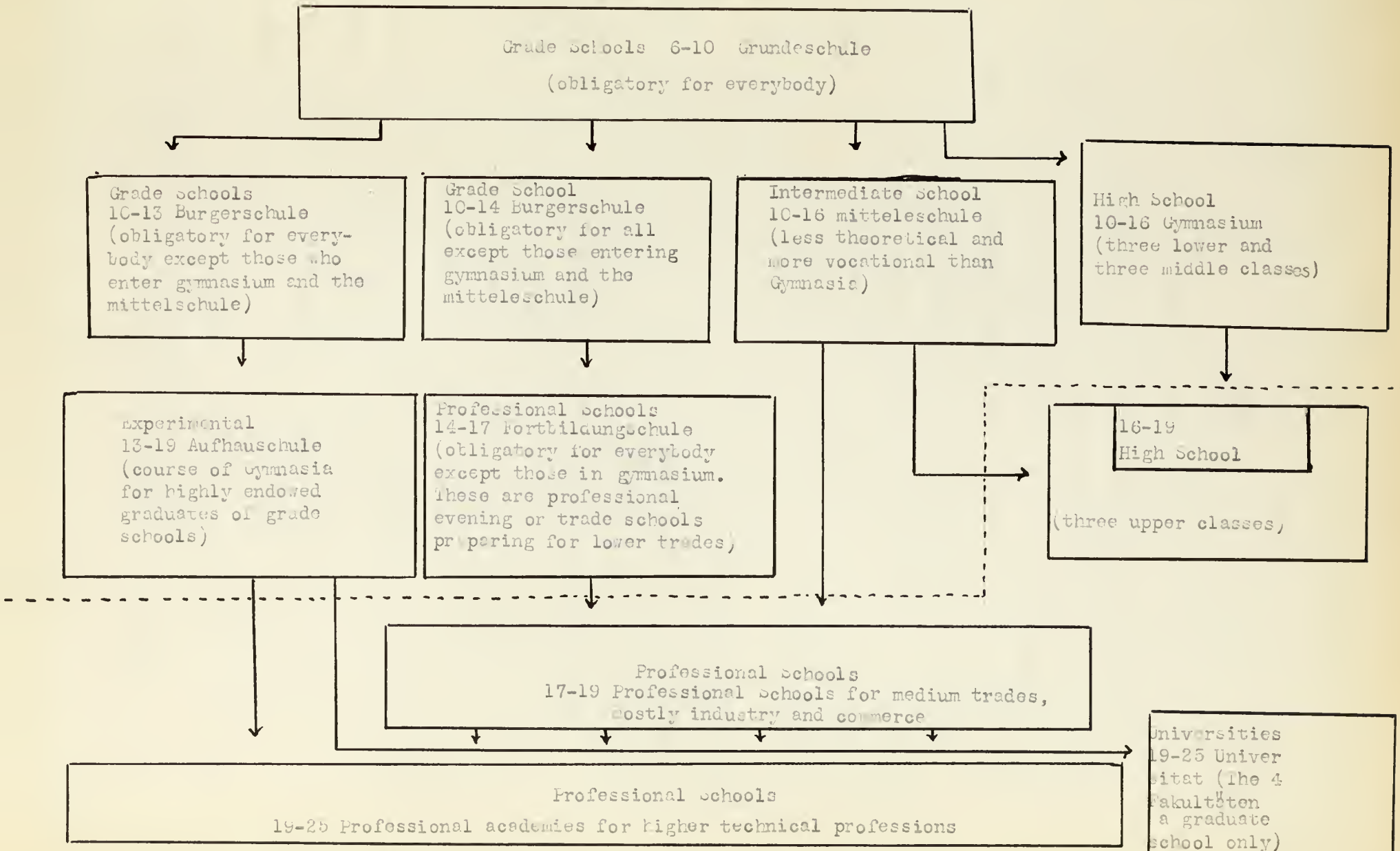
Population - - - - - - 65,000,000

Elementary Schools (1922)	public	-----	8,894,486
" " "	private	-----	35,584
	total	-----	8,930,070
Intermediate Schools (1922)			329,344
Continuation, Vocational, and Intermediate schools			2,120,944
	total	-----	2,450,288
Gymnasia (1922) boys			452,157
" " girls			299,285
	total	-----	751,422
Graduate Universities (1925-26)			67,345
Graduate Technical schools (1925-26)			26,010
	total	-----	93,355

"Education doubtless has profited by the revaluation of all values".

Kellerman, page 59.

New Unified German School System resulting from the General School Reform of 1924 based on the Reichsschulkonferenz of 1920.



* Dotten line represents end of compulsory school attendance at ages of 16 or 17.

F. Kellerman, page 16.

FRANCE

THE SITUATION IN 1900

In 1876 Jules Ferry made the following statement--"Let it be well understood that the first duty of a democratic government is to exercise incessant control over public education . . . . . We cannot admit that this belongs to any other authority but the state." This principle has not been modified to any degree down to the present time, and "France may still be cited as the best example of centralization or state control of education".(1) Here the Napoleonic principle is still enforced and throughout the country for any type of school the Ministry of Public Instruction deals out complete detailed instructions.

Perhaps we may best explain the French ideal of centralization as being justified not merely on cultural grounds but "as the best guarantee of national solidarity". Such a viewpoint is held by Roman when he states "one outstanding fact that will explain more than anything else the tardiness and even hesitancy of the Peace".(2) The Frenchman likes what he has and favors the ruling power of class because he fears still more the restoration of the monarchy and Church to political power. Furthermore, the bureaucratic control of educational administration is regarded as the soundest guarantee of efficiency, which indeed it is. Hence the system of administration in which almost every detail is controlled and prescribed by the Ministry of Public Instruction and carried out by officials directly or indirectly responsible to it. In

(1) I. L. Kandel, ESSAYS IN COMPARATIVE EDUCATION, page 12.
(2) F. W. Roman, THE NEW EDUCATION IN EUROPE, page 166.

the last resort all power is lodged in this central ministry and "by the time the details of administration have been exhausted by the bureaucracy, there is so little effort left for local school authorities that many often refused to function."(1) Such central control is nowhere else illustrated as in the years 1923-24 when the whole system of secondary studies was changed and rechanged by successive ministerial decrees. Indeed, it may be said it is the dependency of the secondary school of France upon the central government for administration and financial support that "affords a permanent check to democratic life and government" in France, for the Lycees and Colleges exert a tremendous influence over all other forms of education and their tuition fees and classical curriculum serves to uphold the stratified picture of French society.

THE PRESENT UNREST

However, the movement known as the "Regionalism" which has come to the foreground in France since the war, indicates that there is an undercurrent of unrest in French education in recent years. Demands have come from both the lay and professional organizations for greater adaptations of educational machinery to local needs. Principles of local autonomy, greater flexibility, and a general decentralization of authority have been uttered. The feeling has been further intensified by the fact that France is changing from an agricultural to an industrial basis. France taking stock of itself is beginning to realize that perhaps bureaucratic administration and uniformity of standards have been accepted too long. Statistical evidence on several problems are impressing the conservative authorities that the country is confronted with an

(1) I. L. Kandel, ESSAYS IN COMPARATIVE EDUCATION, page 12.

educational crisis. The enforcement of attendance has become a difficult problem since the local school committees, failing to attract able men due to their limited sphere of action, often fail to function while the lack of farm workers, etc. militates against strict enforcement of school attendance laws. The result is that one of the most serious problems with which France is confronted is that of enforcement of attendance. At the busy seasons the schools are depleted of all able-bodied boys and girls; in others where occupations are not seasonal young children are kept from school to help in the home, in sheep-herding, or in tending cattle, accompanying poor attendance is a great variation in the length of schools sessions in various parts of the country, in spite of a law that requires elementary schools to be open about ten months in the year. "The law further provides that the abler pupils who can pass an examination on part of the elementary course at the age of twelve may be exempted from further attendance of any kind."(1) The results of this laxness in one aspect of school administration that is entrusted to the local bodies are seen not only in poor attendance, but, what is more alarming still, in an increase of illiteracy. Thus plans have been introduced for enlarging the powers of local authorities and for allowing different courses for rural and city schools. In elementary education there has been the greatest unrest shown--demands for better teachers and more opportunities, greater flexibility, and the same privileges for all types of these primary schools have been in evidence. Thus the "cours complementaire" an advanced primary school, has been created through a decree of 1920.

(1) E. L. Kandel, ESSAYS IN COMPARATIVE EDUCATION, page 99.

It has been shown that though there are over three million in the elementary grades, less than one-half million go beyond this stage, for the fees of the secondary school deny the poor the opportunity. An ecole unique or common school has been prepared. Thus secondary education has been somewhat modified in a cosmopolitan direction--the abolition of tuition fees in the lowest class in 1930 marks the step in the gradual opening of these schools to all. The same ideal of quality is maintained but now there is some increase in quantity as well.

Another changing note is reflected in the urging of an international approach to the study of history, etc. in the school by M. Briand when he proposed a United States of Europe in 1925. The French government has actually aided such an international understanding through a lowering of railway rates to facilitate the interchanging of students between France and other countries.

FURTHER CENTRALIZATION

There have been, however, no radical changes in administration and organization. Perhaps such a situation is to be expected, for the countries that won the war would of course feel that their educational organization was adequate since it stood the test. "The fact that they were victorious seems to have been taken in all the allied countries as real evidence that what they had was good and merited continued confidence. Satisfaction with themselves was so great that it has resulted in a more intense nationalism".(1) This philosophy certainly has been the background for the "reform" of the system by Leon Bérard, the Minister in 1923, when a sharp line was drawn between primary educational

(1) F. W. Roman, THE NEW EDUCATION IN EUROPE, page 165.

preparation for practical life, and secondary education which was to inculcate the ideal of France as the "immediate heir, custodian, and transmitter of classical civilization".(1) A further centralization has been created in the University stage, where a general University State Council (Conseil de l'Université) now has control of their finance, decreasing the financial autonomy of individual faculties. Furthermore, common supply shops have been installed and research work has been centralized. Thus a general unification of French education through centralization is still the picture.

The vocational schools in agriculture have been reorganized in 1918, and in 1920 industrial, commercial, and technical education was transferred to the instruction division of the Ministry of Public Instruction. The Astier Law of 1919 to develop the lowered efficiency of the French worker by prolonged instruction of the child and the increased compulsory attendance theoretically until 18 had had but little actual effect yet. The Normal Schools have undergone some change with more emphasis on the pedagogic side and increased central aid through scholarship (500,000 francs to the Budget being added in 1920). There has been a renewed and deeper interest in physical education which has been promoted by the French Councils providing funds, playgrounds, recreation centres, etc., a bureau being created by decree of 1922 in the Ministry for that purpose.

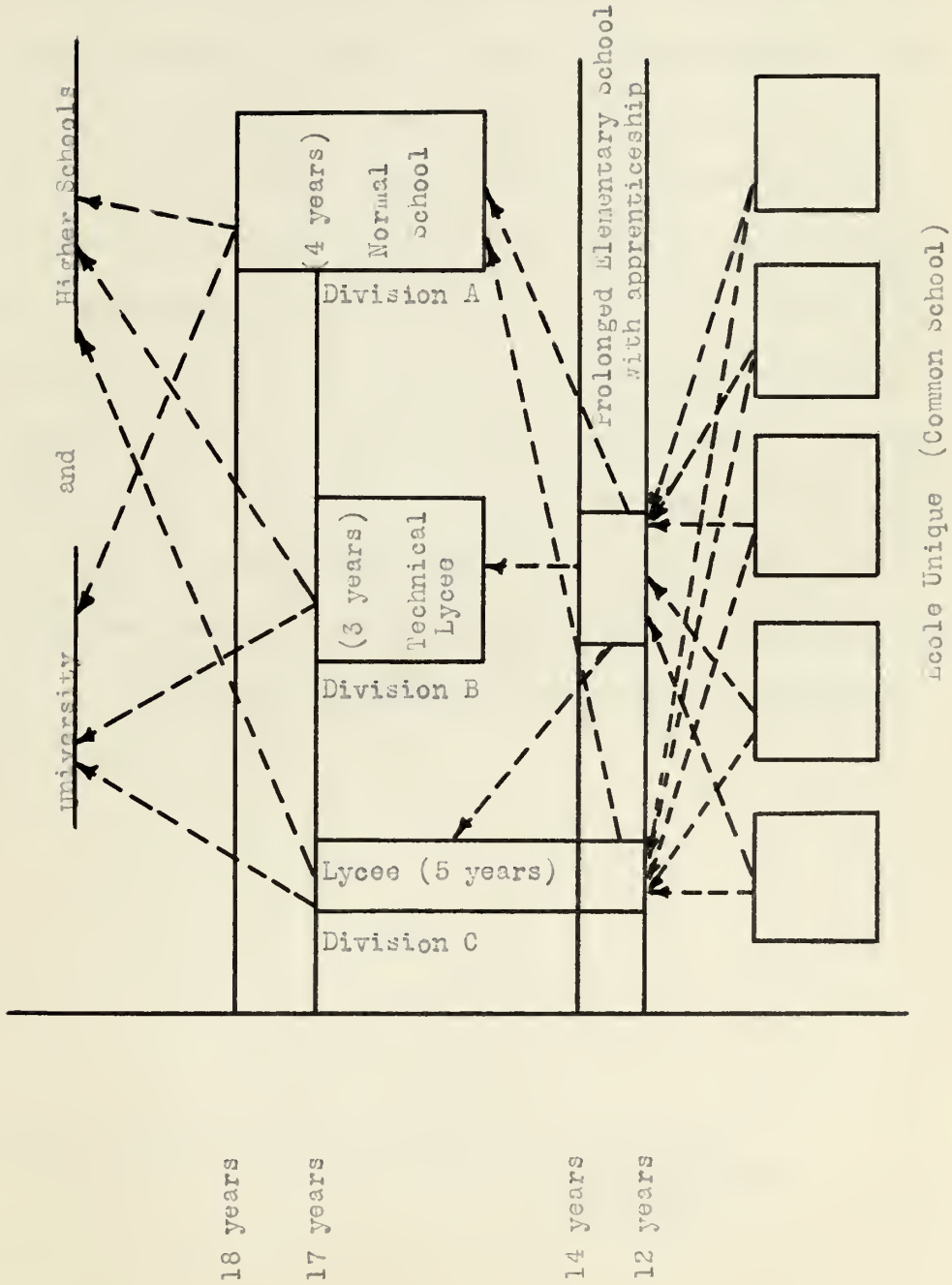
PRESENT EXPERIMENT

"The effect of the War has not recorded any changes in the French system of education that are destined to have any far reaching con-

(1) F. Kellerman, THE EFFECT OF THE WORLD WAR ON EUROPEAN EDUCATION, page 61, Part II Chapter 10.

sequences. Momentous legislation has been prepared, and much of it is receiving serious discussion. Some of the projects are highly democratic and progressive, there are reactionary in the extreme. Four years after the Armistice an independent observer found difficulty in determining whether the reaction of the war and the Treaty of Versailles are leading France toward an era of progression or of complacency".(1) It has been a "period of uncertainty". However, there are issues which are arising. A summary of chapter 4 of Roman on French Education will serve to indicate the plans being discussed in French educational circles today. An Ecole Unique was proposed in the darkest hours of the war when unity was of utmost necessity to stop the German advance on Paris, once again reiterating the principles of the Revolution of 1789. Democratic ideas once more received impetus. Nor is this common school to be uniform throughout the country, for regional needs are to be taken into consideration and the higher educational system is to be based upon this common foundation.

(1) F. W. Roman, THE NEW EDUCATION IN EUROPE, page 169.



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(1) F. W. Roman, THE NEW EDUCATION IN EUROPE, page 193.

such a system has been urged by a group of progressives known as the Compagnons who issued propaganda for its inception. "In spite of the present reaction there is reason to believe that these ideas will prevail in France at some future time."(1) It has found strong support in the French Parliament and projects have been proposed that contained the essentials of this plan. If passed it will result in all going to the same preparatory schools free through a system of scholarships for able pupils. Other like proposals have been made but have only served in keeping the public alive to educational questions. Several laws have also been proposed and contemplated to make continuation school attendance universal and compulsory. The most notable were the Viviani Project of 1917 and more recently the Ducos Project of 1921. These two efforts to raise the standard of French popular education but "for the time being there is not the slightest likehood that such laws will pass. France is too busy with foreign affairs."(2) "For the moment it is difficult to foresee whether French education is moving toward progress or reaction".(3) At any rate the relation of government to education is still very intimate.

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(1) F. W. Roman, THE NEW EDUCATION IN EUROPE, page 195.
(2) Ibid. pages 198-99.
(3) Ibid. page 191.

ENGLAND

THE LAISSEZ-FAIRE POLICY -- RESULTS

In tracing the development of the relation between the central authority and education in England during the 19th century I have tried to indicate that the connection has grown up in a haphazard fashion, like the political Constitution of the land. The long abstinence of the State from provisions for education at the public expense, left the field free for private effort. The gradual creation of vested interests which resulted could not be set aside even when the foundation of a national system was laid in 1902. Before we can appreciate the fact that the Balfour Act of 1902 marks the beginning of a new era in English educational history, we must once more emphasize the philosophy underlying the English system, which largely explains how England has been so late in developing a national system.

The existence side by side of public and private education is thoroughly in accord with the philosophy of the country. The English believe that the essence of a national system of education consists in the assurance by the State of a minimum of education for every citizen but that the responsibility for providing such a minimum rests with the parents. Thus though the parent must send his children within the compulsory age limits to an efficient school, what school depends upon his wishes. The fundamental theory is that "initiative, growth, and personality can be assured only by allowing reasonable freedom in education whether it is provided by a private effort or public authority."(1)

(1) I. L. Kandel, ESSAYS IN COMPARATIVE EDUCATION, page 18.

The function of the State therefore is to recognize and when necessary to aid every kind of efficient and needed school. "Education of a nation is a moral affair, a matter of personalities in which initiative and spontaneity must be given free play; a national ideal cannot be imposed--it must be lived."(1) The progress of the system depends upon freedom in adapting education to local and group needs. The less the interference by central authority, the greater the progress, has been a long accepted English maxim. "While education should be permeated with a sense of national duty, it does not follow that national duty can be interpreted by the government alone."(2)

EMPHASIS ON LOCAL AUTHORITIES

Nevertheless, despite such a non-interference philosophy, I have indicated how a connection has grown up between the national government and education through the financial channel, a politico-economic relation. Whatever influence the State has been enabled to exert upon English education has been largely through the annual grants. The central authority has been able to impose general standards upon local education as conditions of such financial aid--but of this I speak later. Now we must indicate that such control only extends to the "externa" of education, for the principal of each school is still responsible for the actual conduct of the institution. The responsibility still falls upon local authority to maintain and keep efficient the schools in its area.

As these fundamental aids grew in importance (8 million pounds

(1) I. L. Kandel, ESSAYS IN COMPARATIVE EDUCATION, page 25.
(2) Ibid. page 18.

for all school in 1902), a central authority was gradually created for their administration. Though it is customary to speak of this central authority as the Board of Education, it is well to keep in mind that the centralization of education in England into a single body is far from complete as yet. A large number of private schools exist outside its supervision; the War Office maintains its own army schools, the admiralty maintains navy schools, the Home secretary still controls reformatory and industrial schools, while grants to the University come directly from the Treasury. However, the Board of Education has charge of the general task of education. It consists of a Minister of Education who is the President of the Board, five Secretaries of the State, the first Commissioner of the Treasury, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. It is really a legal phantom as it never meets since "the Minister alone assumes responsibility to Parliament and to the country."(1) In another connection I have indicated how it arose from the Committee of Privy Council and was given its present form in response to the Bryce Report of 1899. "Its main control over the thousands of institutions in its domain seems to lie in the power of prescribing the code under which grants may be paid."(2) It is on this financial basis that Parliamentary control of education has been recognized.

THE BOARD OF EDUCATION

The Board concerns itself with all those factors that are conducive to the best conduct of schools and process of education. Such a relationship is carried out through its officers--the examiners of

(1) F. W. Roman, THE NEW EDUCATION IN EUROPE, page 30.
(2) Ibid. page 31.

the central office staff who are concerned with routine work, and the inspectors, "the field staff", who encourage the best education everywhere. The latter are important links in the chain of central control as no grant is voted unless their report is satisfactory. The Consultation Committee of 21 members representing every field of educational endeavor, who report on questions submitted to it by the Board, and the Department of Special Inquiries and Requests for the treatment of comprehensive educational problems all over the world, are important central sources of information and advice. The function of the Board is thus "to coordinate efforts of all kinds that make up England's national system. It sets up and suggests minimum standards, plans and records experiments, collects and distributes information, and encourages financial aid."(1) Stimulation and advice, financial encouragement and reward, that is the relation of the State to education.

Such a policy is well illustrated by the provision in the Fisher Act of 1918, which indicates that though local authorities responsible for education in their area must prepare a three-year plan for the development of education in their area which is to be submitted to the Board for approval, the Board can no longer refuse to accept these proposals outright inasmuch as the act provided "a method of conference, discussion and settlement" as the method of contact between central and local authorities. Thus the trend toward increased central control has been effectively checked and "local control is still the patent factor in shaping the educational destinies of the nation".(2) Hence local authorities are left to choose but are helped in their choice

(1) I. L. Kandel, ESSAYS IN COMPARATIVE EDUCATION, page 33.
(2) F. W. Roman, THE NEW EDUCATION IN EUROPE, page 31.

by the guidance and advice of the Board based on the cumulative experience of the whole country and stimulated by financial inducement. Should the local authority refuse to comply with the Board's requirements, an investigation follows and the grant is withheld if an agreement cannot be reached.

As I have intimated, the Board of Education is able to set up minimum standards for the "externa" of education through its control of financial aids. Beyond this it does not impose requirements. In England the school is the unit, and the principal and teacher have almost complete freedom tempered by responsibility for the conduct of their school. Though norms are set up for different school levels, nevertheless, "within these norms the schools of a given area differ more than they do in the United States."(1) The responsibility falls upon the local authorities to maintain and keep efficient the schools in their area subject to the condition of the grant and advice of the Board inspectors. The principle is well expressed in the report of the President of the Board of Education quoted by Kandel, page 29---- "It was essential for all education that it should have a varied, different and individual initiative to keep it healthy. It would be an evil day for education when it all tended to pass under one general uniform state system". Thus the Board may issue "Suggestions for Consideration of Teachers", consisting of memoranda and reports on various subjects, but their adoption depends upon the desire of the local authorities.

(1) I. L. Kandel, ESSAYS IN COMPARATIVE EDUCATION, page 31.

ACTS OF 1902--1918

Such a general philosophy underlies the two great nationalizing acts of English education, the Balfour Act of 1902 and the Fisher Act of 1918 which was revised in 1921. "It is over two centuries from the founding of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge in (1699) to the very important Fisher Education Act of August, 1918. The first marked the beginnings of the voluntary system; the second the first real attempt in England to lay a broad and deep foundation of a scheme of education which would be truly national. This Act passed by Parliament completed the evolution of two centuries and organized the educational resources--elementary, secondary, evening, adult, technical and higher--into one national system, animated by a national purpose, and aimed at the accomplishment for the nation of twentieth-century ends."(1)

Such a system has however been created without destroying local initiative and independence. This has been possible through the strengthening of the character of the local authorities. The Balfour Act of 1902 crystallized the opinions of various previous investigation committees by dividing the country into a relatively small number of administrative areas for all forms of education whose local authorities should be county councils and county borough councils. Thus the act reduced the statutory bodies to 328 from a number exceeding 5,000 to say nothing of the ad hoc bodies of former times. In 1922 these local bodies were reduced to the present 316. Education was thus put on a municipal basis. Furthermore, schools of all types were placed under the control of these new educational councils by giving the Voluntary schools

(1) E. P. Cubberley, HISTORY OF EDUCATION, pages 649-50.

the same financial support as the Board schools. Furthermore, the interdependence of all classes of schools was realized and the passage upward was facilitated through the development of a system of rate-aided secondary schools to supplement the inadequate provision of the endowed secondary schools. The State assumed the entire responsibility for secular education, abandoning its old policy of assisting voluntary schools in competition with state-funded schools. It also fostered the development of technical and higher education. A system of scholarships was provided in addition to the grants-in-aid to bring secondary education within the reach of all. The important points of this piece of legislation for our purpose are

a) the "creation of strong and alert local authorities responsible for the educational policy of their particular areas which contributed materially in raising the general level of national education," (1)

b) the grant-in-aid system which gave national supervision and standards but assured local interest and control.

In 1908 a national system of compulsory medical inspection was established and further acts were passed providing for recreation facilities, nursery and maternity institutions, and other educational benefits, the Board of Education contributed 5% of their cost.

In 1914 the Board had control of----

21,497	Elementary schools	- - -	6,078,895 pupils
1,027	Secondary "	- - -	187,207 "
7,655	Technical "	- - -	over 1,000,000 "
1,224	Teacher training schools	- - -	20,593 "

Expenditures for the year 1912-13 amounted to $14,339,318.

Proposals for a national system were submitted in 1913-14 by Mr. Pease, the President of the Board of Education. Stating that "the

(1) Charles Birchenbough, ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN ENGLAND AND WALES, page 185.

existing system suffered from the double effect of being neither national nor a system",[1] he proposed essentially the features which were to be enacted by the Fisher Act. The War cut short any such expansion, though the mobilization of resources for that struggle served to show the value of a national, central control. The struggle also indicated the debt of the country to education and liberated the idealism which was to be crystallized in the various enactments which were collectively called the Fisher Act.

From the outset the Act provided for "the establishment of a national system of public education for all persons capable of profiteering thereby. Education for all stages of life and for everybody was the slogan. Talent was to be admitted, no matter what its origin or class, even to the University, while every barrier was removed from the cradle to manhood."[2] Thus the development of elementary education, the establishment of a system of free continuation schools, and the encouragement of secondary education for all were featured. Compulsory education was set between the ages of 5 and 15 years with provision for its rise later, the half-time system was abolished, while continuation education was necessary until 18 years of age. Special attention was paid to health and physical conditions by providing medical inspection and physical training and recreational facilities; corrective schools were established while nursery schools found favor. Important provisions in regard to teacher's salaries and pensions were also made.

The Act had important considerations for this thesis. Though it

(1) Charles Birchenbough, ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN ENGLAND AND WALES, page 206.

(2) F. W. Roman, THE NEW EDUCATION IN EUROPE, page 52.

left the administrative framework of 1902 intact, it strengthened the local units considerably. Autonomy was reserved for the larger borough and urban districts but the general power to combine and cooperate for educational ends was given to all local bodies in the place of the partial and limited powers previously existing. Thus each local body could now set its own limits to the amount it could raise for education in its area. The enlarging of the powers for cooperation and consolidation of the local authorities will illustrate the English principle of strengthening the links. "The policy of the Board of Education was thus to thrust the initiative for development on the local authority".(1) Procedure by scheme--of which I have spoken before--compelled the local educational authorities to take stock of the needs of their area as a whole. The Board also sought to encourage local initiative by "a more liberal system of grants to education authorities, and provided that not less than 50% of approved expenditures should be met by the Government".(2)

The Education Act of 1921 consolidated the numerous enactments relating to education and certain others connected with the employment of children and young persons. It embodied the Fisher proposals of 1920 in regard to the religious question in elementary education, resulting in local educational authorities obtaining complete control of elementary schools.

"The Education Act of 1918 is of profound importance in connection with the whole development of education in England".(3) It is "the most important single progressive step ever taken in English educational

(1) Charles Birchenbough, ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN ENGLAND AND WALES, page 235.
(2) Ibid. page 238.
(3) Ibid. page 245.

history."[1] The various parts of the system had grown up in isolation in response to local needs. By this piece of legislation they were coordinated into an organic whole "with the elementary schools are the necessary basis of the entire national system".[2] That the complete program has not been carried out yet, may be traced to the English tradition of slow alteration and adjustment. Nevertheless, "something has been done in all directions and it is certain that the present Labour Government will take some definite steps to realize the potentialities of this earlier legislation".[3] The Hadow Report of 1926 indicates that future legislation will follow the liberal lines set by these Acts. At the present time the general depression and cry for economy has checked the far-reaching proposals of these national acts. The Anti-educationalists has seized the opportunity to cry against government extravagance. Thus the revenue appropriated to education dropped from 10% in 1914 to 5%. However, though "the economy cry has delayed the clauses of the education act from coming into effect--the act is the law of the land and is being put into operation".[4].

In conclusion, it seems that England has demonstrated the thesis "that centralization and uniformity are not the inevitable and essential features of national education".[5] Flexibility and variety are carefully kept in the system through allowing local authorities utmost control. The central government's relation to education is an indirect affair, a far cry from the type I have traced in present France and which still persists, in a mild form, in Prussia.

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(1) F. W. Roman, THE NEW EDUCATION IN EUROPE, page 59.
(2) Charles Birchenbough, ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN ENGLAND AND WALES, page 246.
(3) F. W. Roman, THE NEW EDUCATION IN EUROPE, page 59.
(4) Ibid. page 72.
(5) I. L. Kandel, ESSAYS IN COMPARATIVE EDUCATION, page 23.

UNITED STATES

THE AMERICAN POLICY

The separation of the story of the development of the federal policy in education by the year 1900 was made only in accord with the outline of this thesis. The policy in vogue before the War is fundamentally the one which governs the situation now. At the risk of being prolix, I am going to present a short summary of the history of the situation, to emphasize the financial--the politico-economic--aspect which the relation has assumed.

The American tradition and practice of local autonomy in school management grew out of the conditions of pioneer life in America. Hence was developed the habit of local responsibility and control "which was so much taken as a matter of course that it was at first universally accepted as the only proper basis of federal relations to education". (1) From the Revolution to the Civil War, the federal government encouraged and financially aided education in the states. It endowed common and higher school with lands and made grants of surplus revenues, but it did not attempt to regulate the purposes, define the provisions, supervise the teaching, or otherwise control public education in the states. Throughout this earlier period its spirit and its acts were in harmony with the principle of state and local autonomy.

With the Morrill Act of 1862, the federal government changed its policy and procedure. "Where before it had been solely interested in

(1) Report of the National Advisory Committee, Oct. 1931,--Chapter 3, Part I Section 1 page 11

encouraging facilities as a whole without emphasizing special phases, it now entered upon a program of stimulating and favoring with financial grants specialized types or aspect of education in order to extend them throughout the states".(1) Every important federal education act that has been passed since then has followed the new trend of encouraging some special phase of education "Though on the surface these acts seem merely to authorize cooperation with the states, in fact, however, the terms imposed and the administrative procedures required by them seriously interfere with state and local autonomy".(2) Such a conclusion is evident from the analysis I have made of the legislation passed from 1860 to 1900.

FURTHER LEGISLATURE GRANTS

In 1904 the Smith-Lever Agriculture Extension Bill providing an annual appropriation of $415,000 by 1914 to increase annually "for the extension work in agriculture and home economics by means of institutes, correspondence classes, and travelling demonstration", a new principle was enunciated. It was then first expressed by the federal government, 'that for each dollar granted, the state must expend a like amount for the same purpose an equal amount."(3) Such a clause has been incorporated into the following federal grants and one may easily understand the control such an arrangement gives to the federal government. Other grants followed: in 1906 the Adam Act provided greater annual appropriations for agricultural experimental stations; in 1907 the Nelson amendment increased the appropriation of the Morrill Act of 1890

(1) Report of the National Advisory Committee, Oct. 1931--Chapter 3, Part I Section 1 page 11.
(2) Ibid. Chapter 4, pages 11, 12.
(3) W. A. Cook, FEDERAL AND STATE ADMINISTRATION, page 78,

to $50,000 each year to every state and territory; in 1908 the Forest Reserve Income Act provided 25% of the revenue derived from these acts was to be appropriated to the state wherein the reserve is situated, for education and roads; in 1920, by the Mineral Royalty Act 3/8 of such revenue was to go to education in the state wherein such was found; in 1915 the Smith-Lever Act appropriated an annual sum for the promotion of the cooperative extension work between agricultural colleges providing such education for the people not attending the colleges. In 1917 the famous Smith-Hughes Act which more than any other showed "the extent to which federal legislation has tended to remove final control of education from the States to the Federal Government"(1) was passed. It established a new and extensive field of federal participation, providing an annual appropriation of 1½ millions in 1918 with annual increases to 104 millions in 1928, for the salaries of teachers supervisors, and administrators of agriculture, home economics, and industrial subjects, for the training of such teachers, and for research in those fields. The approval by the Federal Board for Vocational Education for any state plan under this category was provided. It also established the system of reimbursement, wherein the state spends its own money and is reimbursed provided the above board believes the conditions of the grant have been met. Other acts were passed which increased the annual appropriations under the above grants--such being the Purnell Act of 1925 and the Capper-Ketcham Act of 1928. In 1920 the Smith-Bankhead Act was passed which provided an annual appropriation of one million "to provide vocational rehabilitation of persons disabled

(1) Report of the National Advisory Committee, Oct. 1931, Part I, Section 1, Chapter 3, page 12.

in industry or otherwise and their return to civil employment". (1)

The following figures taken from the United States Bureau of Education Bulletin No. 8, 1930, indicate the amounts which the federal government has appropriated under the above acts:

a) federal grant of land for colleges of agriculture and mechanical arts, agricultural experimental stations, and cooperative extension work--11,696,082 acres.

b) appropriations for college of agriculture and mechanic arts (1890-1930)---$74,202,000.

c) appropriations and disbursements for agricultural experimental stations (1888-1929)---$52,077,914.65.

d) appropriations for cooperative agriculture and home economic extension work (1915-1930)---$73,145,872.

e) land granted to industrial and reform schools; other educational and charitable purposes; deaf, dumb, and blind asylums; military institutes, scientific schools and school of mines--3,175,788.35 acres.

f) vocational education (1918-1924)--$104,000,000
vocational rehabilitation (1921-1930)--$10,500,000.

g) land granted for universities, seminaries of learning and normal schools---3,987,954.42 acres. (2)

From the figures of the biennial survey, Bulletin No. 20, 1931, we get $17,020,749.96 (up to June 30, 1930) granted from funds derived from sale of lands belonging to the United States in public land states.

$1,718,875.33 (in 1920) from forest reserve income.
25,597,492.37 (in 1921) from mineral leases. (3)

THE EDUCATIONAL RELATIONSHIP

We should also indicate at this time that education, taken in its broadest sense, is administered by practically every unit in the federal

(1) Report of the National Advisory Committee, Oct. 1931, Part II, Chapter 1, page 65.
(2) Pages: 31, 32, 33, 34, 37, 39, 41, 25, 15.
(3) Pages: 32, 33, 34.

government directly or indirectly. As Cook points out, "of the ten executive departments of the national government, seven are granted appropriations for educational purposes, while five are directly concerned in the administration of educational institutions".(1) The Department of State spends $25,000 yearly on schools for interpreters; the Department of Justice maintains training schools for boys and girls in Washington; the Department of War maintains the U. S. Military Academy, Army War College at Washington, and service schools in various branches; the Navy Department supports the Naval Academy and the Naval War College; the Bureau of Education in the Department of the Interior supports schools for natives of Alaska and schools for Indians: and the schools in the District of Columbia are under the jurisdiction though not supported by the United States Government. "Though it is not even possible to list accurately or comprehensively all educational activities of the federal government--it is clear that there is not a single aspect of education which is not a concern of some branch of the Federal Government."(2) The total program includes liberal and vocational education for both sexes and all ages in school and out. It reaches from the earliest primary education to the most advance graduate and professional training. It comprehends special education for every type of the physically, mentally, and socially handicapped. It deals with races and cultures of every kind and every degree of development.

In some instances the Government controls the particular educational policy and program completely; in others the regional or local authorities have almost exclusive autonomy. Between these two extremes

(1) W. A. Cook, FEDERAL AND STATE ADMINISTRATION, page 52.
(2) Report of the National Advisory Committee, Oct. 1931, Part I, Section 1, Chapter 1, page 6.

of the exercise of power, every conceivable degree of variation is found. In one enterprise the Federal Government pays all the cost; in another it pays only part of the expense; in still another it contributes both the social and educational purposes; in another the people of the region and their political representatives exercise full control. Here it provides buildings; there it does not. Here it trains the teachers; there, it merely recruits them. So the policies and practices vary.

The national government, however, does more than give financial aid. It encourages a better educational process through the far-reaching research and educational programs of the Office of Education. "One of the most important functions--to many the only true function--of this office is the collection of facts and statistics and the diffusion of such information for the promotion of education throughout the country."(1) Truly it has served as a clearing house for educational information. Teacher and student of education have used the literature thus afforded to advantage. Through its school surveys, the bureau is providing expert leadership in educational problems. Other national agencies assist in such work: the Children's Bureau established in 1912 under the Department of Labor investigates and reports on matters affecting child life; the Department of Agriculture collects and disseminates reports and data in that field; the Board of Vocational Education directs the appropriations of the Acts of 1918 and 1921. The Library of Congress, the National Museum, and the Smithsonian Institute all render valuable educational service. Several "nationalizing agencies", which, however, are privately endowed such as the Carnegie Foundation, the Russell Sage

(1) W. A. Cook, FEDERAL AND STATE ADMINISTRATION, pages 82-83.

Foundation, the Slater Fund, the Peabody Fund, the National Education Association, and the General Education Board--aid in supporting schools and forwarding information.

The statistics of the Bureau of Education for the year ending June 30, 1924, are illuminating of the scope of American education.

"112,000,000 people
27,559,835 pupils
906,642 teachers
263,280 public school buildings in use
22,500 public and 2500 private high school buildings
325 public and 74 private teacher-training institutions were maintained
913 college and universities, 144 were under public control.

"$2,400,000,000 spent on education $\frac{5}{4}$ of which went to public elementary and secondary education indicate the tremendous industry of American education." (1)

A brief consideration of such data as I have presented will serve to show that the federal government has materially aided education through the financial channel. It has likewise extended its control, for advances in financial aid seem to go hand in hand with advances in authority. Such a principle seems evident from our present study. Now the question has arisen as to whether the benefits derived from central aid compensates for the inevitable weakening of local responsibility which results from the application of the provisions of these grants. This seems to be the dilemma. "The American people must face the problem of conflict between our traditional policy of state and local autonomy and this growing trend toward federal centralization." (2)

(1) Tigert, J. J., EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, pages 1, 2.
(2) Report of the National Advisory Committee, Oct. 1931, Chapter 4, pages 12, 13; Part I, Section 1.

THE CONFLICT BETWEEN THEORY AND PRACTICE

Such an issue has been the basis of a half-century's contention around the establishment of a National Department of Education. The advocates of such central direction point to the present chaotic conditions in the government relation to education. "Performing similar services, sometimes with considerable overlapping, the various departments show little evidence of cooperation and coordination in the efforts expended".(1) "The Federal Government has no inclusive and consistent public policy as to what it should or should not do in the field of education".(2) However, so far every proposal for such a federal department of education has failed. Such legislation as the Sterling-Reed Bill of 1923 has failed to pass despite the realization of the ills it discloses because of the fear of the remedy proposed. And yet the growing idea of education as a national responsibility, the realization of the grave faults and disparities in the present scheme, the understanding that Americanism, illiteracy, and physical education are national in scope and must be solved through a national scheme of education. "The time has come when the activities of the Federal Government must be appraised, and a sound social, political and educational philosophy set up for our guidance in determining what the function, powers, and methods of the Federal Government ought to be when it proceeds to express constructively and legally its national interest in education."(3) The change in the National Advisory Committee indicates the strength of these ideas. In 1922 the Committee reported the scheme of local autonomy

(1) Report of National Advisory Committee, Oct. 1931, Chapter 4, page 7, Part I, Section 1.
(2) Ibid. page 8.
(3) Ibid. July 1930, pages 37-38.

to be a sound one, but in 1931 they advocate the establishment of a National Board of Education: President Hoover has summed up the national administration's philosophy in this matter:---

"Although education is primarily a responsibility of the states and local communities and rightly so, yet the nation as a whole is vitally concerned in its development everywhere to the highest standards and to complete universality."(1) The Curtis-Reed Bill now in Congress is a step in that direction.

However, the opposite attitude is still strong. The traditions and practices of education in our country have established education as a subject of state and not federal control. The attitude is well stated by Secretary Wilbur--"The place of the national government is not of supplying funds in large amounts for carrying on the administrative function of education in the communities, but to develop methods, ideals and procedures, and to present them, to be taken on their merits. The national government, too, can give wide-spread information on procedures, can report on events all over the world, and can unify to some extent the objects of those in the field of education in so far as it is desirable. That source of government with us is local and we cannot rise higher than our own source."(2)

ADVOCACY OF NATIONAL DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

The issue seems to be along lines of solution if the present report of the National Advisory Committee means anything. They have recommended the following policies:

(1) Educational Yearbook, 1928, page 199.
(2) SCHOOL AND SOCIETY, Volume 29, June 29, 1929, pages 845-46.

a) "political control of the purpose and processes of public education shall remain with state or local government--the federal government is urged to return to the original policy in this respect, recognizing that all powers of education belong to the people where constitutionally they belong and where experience indicates they should remain.

b) financial support should be given for education in general not for special phases--grants not to be centrally administered and distributions to depend upon adequate survey.

c) information service to be fostered so that intelligent assistance may be rendered by the federal government everywhere throughout the American domain whether conducted as a public or a voluntary enterprise." (1)

Thus a central Department of Education with a Secretary in the cabinet was recommended. "The lack of such an official spokesman for education, competent and influentially situated in the government has been one of the conditions, and a major condition, which has permitted us to drift into our present dilemma where a nation, by tradition and experience opposed to the federal administration of education, has in fact developed a pluralized federal control of education through various federal agencies which are not even coordinated in their efforts". (2)

This drift toward centralized federal controls is attested by the effects of enabling acts, land and money grants with a restricted educational purpose, and approvals and vetoes of state plans, all sanctioned by law and departmental rulings.

The peculiar nature of the educational service performed by the Federal Government requires their distribution through many Departments, but their effective performance also requires among them a degree of

(1) Report of the National Advisory Committee, Oct. 1931, Chapter 10, pages 83, 84, 85, Part I, Section 1.
(2) Ibid. Oct. 1931, Part I, Section 2, page 94.

cooperation and coordination which only the Chief Executive can insure. Without an educational officer of equal status with the heads of all other Departments concerned, it would be impossible to secure that voluntary cooperation from all departments needed to integrate the educational resources of the Government. No bureau chief or head of a detached or independent establishment can have that equal access to the Chief Executive and that equality of approach to the heads of all departments concerned essential to the effective total operation of education in the government.

The research and other scientific inquiry, upon which modern education depends for its constant improvement, requires that it be brought into effective application upon all educational services of the various departments now concerned with education in the States and outlying possessions. Unless the educational officer carrying the main responsibility for the development of educational research in all its phases is an officer equal in rank with the heads of Departments involved, he cannot fulfill his purpose.

Finally, the processes and results of education are becoming increasingly used in the solution of our major national problems. The presence in the government of an officer of cabinet rank, charged with representing these processes and results in all their various ramifications would insure that effective contribution of education which is essential to the future political and social welfare of the nation.

Whether or not we agree with the language or the philosophy of the committee report it does seem likely that increasing federal expend-

itures--and this has been urged by all sides--means increased federal control. Whether such an actuality will come to pass or not depends upon how broad-minded our government can be. The Department proposed under the conditions stated by the Report does not seem to offer much.. It is an entering wedge which might lead, as Secretary Wilbur recently pointed out, to still further centralized control. Only time will tell.

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CONCLUSION

Our study of the relationship of the national government to education in Germany, France, England, and the United States, has indicated how different the degree of intimacy might be. France represents one extreme of complete government domination in educational policy and control, both purpose and form of education being centrally dictated; England represents the other extreme of domination by local authority, and a laissez-faire national attitude. Between the two one finds the United States and the New German Republic, the former now leaning toward more intimate relationship, and the latter away from such a policy. It is, however, dangerous to generalize even to such a degree. Any attempt to classify the relationship into specific types is foolhardy. To attempt to evaluate is still more foolish, since the present situation is tightly bound up with a multitude of factors.

It seems that the problem of the twentieth century, then, and probably other centuries to come, is how the constructive forces in modern society, of which the schools of nations should stand first, can best direct their efforts to influence and direct deeper sources of the life of a people, so that the national characteristics which it desires to display to the world will be developed because the schools have instilled into every child these national ideals. Many forces must cooperate in such a task, but unless the schools of nations become clearly conscious of national needs and international purposes, become inspired by an ideal of service for the welfare of mankind, substitute

among national groups competition in the things of the spirit--art, architecture, music, sports, education letters, sanitation, housing, public works, and such applications of science as minister to health and happiness--for competition in the creation of material wealth, the piling-up of armaments, the extension of national boundaries, and the present overemphasis of a narrow nationalism, and direct the energies of coming generations to carrying out of this new and larger human service, nations must inevitably fail to reach the world position they might otherwise have occupied, destructive international competition and warfare will continue, and the advancement of world civilization and international well-being will be retarded thereby.

The great needs of the modern world also call for that form of education and training which will not merely impart literacy and prepare for economic competence and national citizenship, but which will give to national groups a new conception of national character and international morality and create new standards of value for human effort. National character and international morality are always the outgrowth of the personality of a people, and this in turn calls for the training of a will to do right, good physical vigor, and to a large degree, the development of individual efficiency and economic competence. Moral and religious instruction, as it has been given, will not suffice, because it does not reach the heart of the problem. No nation has shown more completely the utter futility of religious instruction to produce morality than has Germany, where instruction of all in the principles of religion has been acquired for centuries.

In this work of advancing world civilization the nations which have long been in the forefront of progress must expect to assume important roles. It is their peculiar mission--for long clearly recognized by Great Britain and France in their political relations with inferior and backward peoples; by the United States in its excellent work in Cuba, Porto Rico, and the Philippines; and clearly formulated in the system of "mandatories" under the League of Nations--to help backward peoples to advance. "The White Man's Burden" truly is large, and the larger world tasks of the twentieth century for the more advanced nations will be to help other peoples, in distant and more backward lands, slowly to educate themselves in the difficult art of self-government, gradually establish stable and democratic governments of their own, and in time to take their places among the enlightened and responsible peoples of the earth.

At the bottom of all this work and service lie the human liberty conceptions first worked out and formulated for the world by little Greece. In time the ideas to which they gave expression have become the heritage of what we know as our western civilization, and the warp and woof of the intellectual and political life of the modern world. As a result of the Industrial Revolution, and of the new political, commercial, and social forces of our time, this western civilization, using education as its great constructive tool, is now spreading to every continent on the globe. The task of succeeding centuries will be to carry forward and extend what has been so well begun; to level up the peoples of the earth, as far as inherent differences in capacity

will permit; and to extend, through educative influences, the principles and practices of Christian civilization to all. In establishing intelligent and interested government, and in moulding and shaping the destinies of peoples, general education has become the tool of modern civilization. A hundred and fifty years ago education was but of little importance, being primarily an instrument of the Church and used for church ends. Today general education is an instrument of government, and if rightfully regarded as a prime essential to good government and national progress. With the spread of the democratic type of government the importance of the school is enchanced, its control by the state becomes essential, its continued expansion to include new types of schools and new forms of educational opportunities and service a necessity, the study of its organization and administration and problems becomes a necessary function of government, while the training it can give is dignified and made the birthright of every boy and girl.

It seems that all we can conclude is that education and the national government have had relations; sometimes they have been more close than at other times, sometimes they have had more fortunate results than at other periods. Therefore, since there must be such a relationship, we should attempt to put it upon a wholesome plane. What that will be depends upon the character of our political leaders.

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   a) In this book the authors have attempted to interpret the spirit of the new education in Germany rather than to present the whole system in detail.

7. REORGANIZATION OF EDUCATION IN PRUSSIA 1927
   Kandel, I. L. --Alexander, T. Teachers College, Columbia University

   a) The present volume is devoted to a study of the Prussian reorganization, partly because Prussia still seems destined to give the lead to the rest of Germany, partly because the

situation appears to be more stable than in the other states.

8. FEDERAL AND STATE ADMINISTRATION 1927
Cook, W. A. T. Crowell Co.

a) The material in this volume has been drawn from every section of the United States. The aim has been to avoid provinciality, and to stress national more than local aspects of education.

9. HISTORY OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN ENGLAND AND WALES 1930
Birchenbough, C. University Tutorial Press, Ltd.

a) The aim of this book is to give a concise and accurate account of the evolution of elementary education in England and Wales since 1800.

10. A FEDERAL DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION 1927
Johnsen, J. Series II Vol. 2. H. W. Wilson Co.

a) The present handbook is based on educational legislation and on the features which were prominently advocated in the last Congress.

11. A BRIEF HISTORY OF EDUCATION 1922
Cubberley, E. P. Houghton Mifflin Co.

a) The present volume is an abridgment and condensation of the History of Education issued in 1920. The present volume is a history of the practice and progress and organization of education itself, and presents the history of education as a phase of the history and of the rise and development and spread of our Western civilization.

Bulletins of the United States Bureau of Education

No. 12 "National Ministries of Education" 1930
Abel, F. James U. S. Government Printing Office

a) The purpose of this study is to report somewhat in detail on the status, functions, and activities of the national ministries of education as they are now.

No. 8 "Digest of Legislation Providing Federal Subsides for Education" 1930
Keesecker, W. Ward U. S. Government Printing Office

a) In this leaflet is the digest of the principal acts of Congress to assist the States in promoting education and literature relating to Federal subsides for education.

No. 20 "Biennial Survey of Education in the United States" 1928-30
Deffenbaugh, W. S. U. S. Government Printing Office

a) The biennial survey attempts to show briefly for a number of years the trends in state and local school administration, and in school finance.

"Education in the United States of America" 1927
Tigert, J. J. U. S. Government Printing Office

a) This short outline covers the educational scheme in this country, together with the activities of the Bureau of Education, the Federal Board for Vocational Education, and the education work of the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

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THE EFFECT OF THE WORLD WAR ON EUROPEAN EDUCATION 1928
Kellerman, F. Harvard University Press
Bulletin No. 13

a) The aim of this bulletin is to interpret the underlying conceptions of life and philosophical tendencies in the present-day European countries; and to evaluate and criticize these from the point of view of one who has struggled to free himself from the depressing mass of current prejudices, national and social.

REPORT OF THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE October 1931
"Federal Relations to Education", Part I, Committee Findings and Recommendations. 744 Jackson Place
Washington, D. C.

a) The National Advisory Committee on Education has analyzed the activities of the Federal Government in the field of education; inquired into the public policies involved, studied their operation, and investigated their effects. The findings and recommendations of the Committee and the basic facts which are important in understanding them are recorded in this report.

REPORT OF THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE October 1931
"Federal Relations to Education", Part II, Basic Facts.
Hill, D. S. --Fisher, W. A. 744 Jackson Place
Washington, D. C.

a) These pages comprise a compilation of facts from widely scattered legal, historical and statistical sources bearing upon the public education, particularly with reference to the direct and indirect participation of the Federal Government in education throughout the diverse and far-reaching domains of our nation.

REPORT OF THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE July 1930
"Federal Relations to Education"
By the National Advisory Committee 26 Jackson Place
Washington, D. C.

a) It includes an analysis of the present situation, a series of proposals tentatively approved by the Committee and several alternative propositions submitted to date.

EDUCATIONAL YEARBOOK 1928
Kandel, I. L. Teachers College, Columbia University

a) The educational systems of over fifty countries have been described, and an indication of the major problems in education that are today occupying the attention of statesmen and education.

EDUCATIONAL YEARBOOK 1927
Kandel, I. L. Teachers College, Columbia University

a) The educational systems of forty-three countries have been described, and there is thus made available to the student of educational thought, and practice, and the variety of solutions found almost throughout the world.

School and Society Volume 29 June 29, 1929
"Federal and Local Support of Schools".

a) Secretary Ray Lyman Wilbur, of the Department of the Interior, delivered the following speech on "Local Self-Government in Education" on May 3, before the twelfth annual meeting of the American Council of Education held at the National Research Council in Washington, D. C.